



THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

MARCH 1947

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND
PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF SOCIAL WORK

Edited by

THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XXI

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President of the National Conference of Social Work, 1947

(See p. 128)

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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Number 1

PATHFINDERS OF THE MIDDLE YEARS¹

EMMA O. LUNDBERG

By their fruits shall ye know them

IN HIS essay on "History," Ralph Waldo Emerson said: "There is properly no History; only Biography"; and his contemporary across the Atlantic, Thomas Carlyle, said: "History is the essence of innumerable biographies." It is the purpose in this article to portray progress in the attainment of higher standards of care and protection of children by means of brief sketches of the philosophy and the achievements of some of the men and women who have influenced thought and action during the last four or five decades. If one can catch the spirit of these leaders and show clearly the contributions which they have made to social welfare progress in America, a more vital story will unfold than can be expressed in terms of statistics and events. It is the story of the impact of personalities and the enduring radiance of aspirations which make more clear the path of those who are now concerned with social services to children.

"Middle Years" as used in the title of this article applies roughly to the years of the twentieth century which have

passed, and the "pathfinders"² of this era are those who continued the work of the pioneers in social welfare.

I. WALTER E. FERNALD, M.D.
(1859-1924)

PIONEER IN THE TRAINING OF MENTALLY DEFICIENT CHILDREN

In the Foreword to a memorial number of the *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, the head of the department says:

Among the names which bulk large in the history of psychiatry one of the most conspicuous is that of Walter E. Fernald. Taking up as he did the problem of mental deficiency at a time when the care of the feeble-minded was essentially custodial, he developed the concept of training his charges with a view to fitting them for life in the community. This attitude, then new and almost revolutionary, has now become the accepted principle in the field of mental defect. Not only Massachusetts, but the entire civilized world, owes a debt of gratitude to the sagacity, humanity and foresight of this great man.³

² The selection of personalities described in the brief biographies which follow is limited to men and women whose work lay, in whole or in part, in the field of social services for children. The inclusion is further limited to leaders whose personalities and achievements have been known more or less intimately by the writer.

³ George M. Kline, M.D., in *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases* (Fernald Memorial Number), April, 1930.

¹ [Editorial Note.—This article is a chapter from a book entitled *Unto the Least of These* by the same author which will shortly be published by D. Appleton-Century Company, to whom the *Review* is indebted for the right to publish in somewhat condensed form.]

Walter Elmore Fernald was born in Kittery, Maine, of "old New England stock." He was educated in the public schools, in the New Hampden Literary Institution, and in Bowdoin Medical College. For five years he was assistant physician at the Wisconsin State Hospital at Mendota. From this position he was chosen by the trustees of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded as the first resident superintendent of the school, and he remained with the school from 1887 until his sudden death, thirty-seven years later. When Dr. Fernald came, the institution, which had been initiated by the great pioneer in social welfare, Samuel Gridley Howe, was located in South Boston. The trustees said of Dr. Fernald: "During his period of service here, he has achieved distinction as a builder, as an educator, as an organizer, as a scientist, and as an inspiring and lovable person." The plant which he constructed at Waverley and the Farm Colony at Templeton are monuments to his skill as a builder. The institution over which he presided for so many years was popularly known as "Waverley"; after Dr. Fernald's death it received the official name of "The Walter E. Fernald State School."

In 1893 Dr. Fernald was president of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded. The subject of his address as president was "The History of the Treatment of the Feeble-minded." Another leader in the training of mentally defective children, Dr. George L. Wallace, who had been associated with Dr. Fernald at Waverley and who later became the first superintendent of the institution at Wrentham, Massachusetts, said that by 1893 Dr. Fernald had "already gathered and assimilated the best thought of the world regarding the education and care of the feeble-minded and was rapidly becoming a leader and authority in his chosen field. This leadership he maintained to the end of his life." In 1924, when Dr. Fernald was again president of the Association, his address as president was entitled "Thirty Years' Progress in the Care of the Feeble-minded." Dr. Wallace said that this "masterpiece of completeness" could be

accepted as a classic on the subject of mental defect and that it might appropriately be retitled "Autobiography of Walter E. Fernald in the Field of Mental Deficiency," since the history of thirty years' achievement in the care of the feeble-minded was the history of the accomplishment of Dr. Fernald.

With regard to his work during the early years of Waverley, the late Dr. Wallace said:

In those early days the work for the feeble-minded was not popular. It was difficult to interest men and women of initiative in the movement. But under the enthusiastic leadership of Dr. Fernald in these later years we have had the satisfaction of seeing some of the best minds in the country focused on the great problem. . . . We find him organizing in his own institution a system of education and training that is used in every school for the feeble-minded in the country and in all special classes in the public schools. The Seguin system that had been permitted to die he resurrected and breathed into it such a vital spark that by amplifying and reinforcing it with his own ingenious methods so long as there are feeble-minded children to be educated and so long as there are understanding educators, the Seguin-Fernald method of education will continue to live.

When Dr. Fernald began his work in Massachusetts, there were in the United States only three state institutions for the feeble-minded, and development of other means of training had not yet begun. In his address on the progress made in thirty years, Dr. Fernald stated:

In 1893 there were nineteen state institutions in seventeen different states. In 1924 there were fifty-one state institutions in forty-three different states. Only five states have failed to make institutional provision for the feeble-minded. In 1893 there were 6,000 patients, and in 1923 there were 39,655, in state institutions. In 1893 there were nine private institutions and in 1923 there were eighty-nine. In 1893 the problem was wholly an institutional one. In 1923 there were special classes in the public schools of 171 cities and towns with an enrollment of 33,971 pupils.⁴

⁴ "Thirty Years' Progress in the Care of the Feeble-minded," by Dr. Walter E. Fernald.

It is, of course, impossible to estimate how largely this interest resulted directly from Dr. Fernald's personal inspiration and from the example of his work in Massachusetts; but not only did the institution at Waverley attract students of the problem of mental defect from all parts of this country and from abroad, but Dr. Fernald gave advice and assistance to various states with regard to the development of institutional care and other problems. His work in his own state became a criterion of progress, and to the development of a well-rounded program of state protection and care of the mentally deficient his life was dedicated.

His understanding of social conditions and of the many factors that enter into the development of a child made him unwilling to rely entirely upon mental tests as a basis for diagnosis and prognosis. As a result, he evolved his own method of examination through the following "ten fields of inquiry: 1. Physical examination; 2. Family history; 3. Personal and developmental history; 4. History of school progress; 5. Examination in school work; 6. Practical knowledge; 7. Economic efficiency; 8. Social history and reactions; 9. Moral reactions; 10. Psychological tests."

A free weekly out-patient clinic had been established at Waverley in 1891, which led to other community clinics and to the examination of children in the public schools of many cities. These clinics prepared the way for the enactment of the law of 1919, requiring that all children in the public schools three or more years retarded should be examined by a competent psychiatrist and that where ten or more children in a school section were found to be mentally defective, a special class should be organized for their education. In order to make competent psychiatrists available for the work of examining all mentally retarded children in the schools of the state, Dr. Fernald organized a clinic for intensive training of state-hospital physicians. He early became interested in the "special class" movement in Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries, and he saw possibilities of extending

training in the public schools so that as many children as possible might be prepared to take their place as useful members of the community. In his work with parents of children brought to the Waverley clinics he found that many parents wanted to keep their mentally deficient children at home and were able to give them proper care if suitable provision were made in the community for their training. In his later years Dr. Fernald often said that, with the exception of children who were so handicapped physically and mentally that they must have custodial care, there was little difference between the group he had under care at the institution and those attending special classes of public schools. The difference, he pointed out, was in their home conditions and the ability of their families to provide proper care for them. He advised and assisted in the development of special classes throughout his own state and in many cities of other states.

In the institution at Waverley he devoted himself to developing a system of training which would enable the children to return to their own communities whenever possible. He obtained the passage of a state law permitting the parole of the feeble-minded from the state schools, and he made notable studies of the "after-careers" of those who had left the institution, demonstrating the feasibility of training in work habits and of preparing them for life in the community. Dr. Wallace said: "In connection with this work and in order to insure its success, he organized the social service department whose chief work is to smooth out the rough places in the community for the feeble-minded."

At the 1919 Children's Bureau Conference on Standards of Child Welfare, Dr. Fernald presented a paper on "A State Program for the Care of the Mentally Defective." He said:

It is now generally understood that the feeble-minded and the progeny of the feeble-minded constitute one of the great social and economic burdens of our modern civilization. . . . An intelligent democracy cannot consistently

ignore a condition involving such a vast number of persons and families and communities, so large an aggregate of suffering and misery, and so great economic cost and waste.

Nearly every State in the Union has already made a beginning in the way of a program for dealing with the mentally defective, either directly or indirectly. The development of this program in the different States varies greatly in degree and method. Even the most advanced States have not yet formulated a plan for reaching all the feeble-minded of the State. It is safe to say that no State has yet officially taken cognizance of ten per cent of the mentally defective persons in that State.

As the first step in a state program, he advocated a "complete and continuing" census of the uncared-for feeble-minded of the entire state, including in the registration only those persons whose mental defect had been scientifically diagnosed. The register should be "highly confidential and accessible only to properly accredited persons." Such a census, he said, would make it possible to provide for a central governmental authority responsible for the "general supervision and assistance and control" of the uncared-for feeble-minded of the state who do not need immediate institutional commitment. "This systematic supervision of the feeble-minded could easily be made to cover the entire State, with a local representative in each community, but all under the direction of the central authority."

Under this plan there would be a person in every locality familiar with the opportunities for mental examination and methods of permanent commitment. The extra-institutional supervision and observation of cases in their own homes would do away with the necessity of institutional care of many persons who would otherwise have to go to an institution, thus reducing the expense of buildings and maintenance. . . .

There should be legal provision for the commitment of uncared-for defective persons to the permanent custody of the central authority. . . .

The extra-institutional supervision should include cases dismissed from institutions, so that the defective who has spent many years in an institution would not be thrown out into the world

with a freedom which he does not know how to utilize. In these cases, the supervision would constitute a permanent parole which would be most effective. This provision would enable the defective to be returned to the institution if he did not properly conduct himself in the community. Such provision for registration of feeble-minded and for extra-institutional supervision would ensure that those defectives who most need institutional training and protection would be sent to the institutions, and that those who can live safely and happily in the community would be allowed to do so.

Summing up the proposed state program, he said:

The program now possible includes the mental examination of backward school children; the mental clinic; the travelling clinic; the special class; directed training of individual defectives in country schools; instruction of parents of defective children; after-care of special-class pupils; special training of teachers in normal schools; census and registration of the feeble-minded; extra-institutional supervision of all uncared-for defectives in the community; selection of the defectives who most need segregation for institutional care; increased institutional facilities; parole for suitable institutionally-trained adult defectives; permanent segregation for those who need segregation; mental examinations of persons accused of crime and of all inmates of penal institutions; and long-continued segregation of defective delinquents in special institutions. . . .

Nearly every suggestion in the proposed program is already being followed in some State. No one State has anything like a complete program.

In an article entitled: "Fernald, Friend of the Child," the late Herbert C. Parsons mentions, as illustrating the recognition of Dr. Fernald's outstanding leadership, his appointment as chairman of two state commissions, in 1911 and 1919, dealing with phases of delinquency and crime. Mr. Parsons says:

In the richness of his later years, when the spirit was all the while expanding, when a judgment as practical as it was broad was ripening, when contribution of a deep understanding and a profound sympathy was adding to achievement, to the end of his luminous life, Dr. Fer-

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nald made secure his title to lasting recognition as the friend and attorney of child life, the community's chiefest treasure, hope and responsibility.⁵

II. KATE WALLER BARRETT (1859-1925)

PROTECTOR OF UNMARRIED MOTHERS AND THEIR BABIES

A woman "nobly planned," Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett was stately in bearing, with a distinction which proclaimed her a born leader. The remarkable executive ability evidenced in all her undertakings was combined with genuine friendliness and charm, and her expression of kinship for all people, high and low, was not based upon sentimentality. She was the equal of all and the superior of none. As a member of a Virginia family of Colonial ancestry, Kate Waller's girlhood was far removed from the causes which she espoused so vigorously in her later years. But the young girl who married an Episcopal rector early in his career found an outlet for her energies as a helpmeet to her husband in the work of his parish. In the first years after their marriage her husband's parish was located "in the very heart of the slums" of Richmond, Virginia. Mrs. Barrett related an incident which occurred when the first of her children was an infant and which she describes as her first intimate contact with the problem of the unmarried mother. A young mother with an infant in her arms appeared at the rectory one stormy evening and asked for help in finding shelter for her child. After clothing and feeding the baby and putting him to sleep on the couch where her own boy lay, Mrs. Barrett heard the mother's story of the plight which had brought her to Richmond, where she had no friends and nowhere to go.

She, too, like myself was a country girl; she had been reared in almost similar surroundings in Virginia; up to a certain point her life might have been a reflection of mine, but from that time on, how different! . . . It was all so dif-

ferent from what I had thought and imagined. Where was the terrible degradation, the groveling nature with which I had always been taught to associate the fallen woman? . . . Almost unknown to myself there entered into my heart at that moment a covenant with God that so long as I lived my voice should always be lifted in behalf of this outcast class, and my hand always be held out to aid them.⁶

After serving a parish in Kentucky, the Barretts moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where Dr. Barrett became dean of St. Luke's Cathedral. Here Mrs. Barrett entered into the social and intellectual life of the community with enthusiasm, but she also found time to carry on an increasing amount of work for individual girls who came to her attention. During this period she accompanied her husband on many summer trips to Europe; and, while he conducted parties of tourists, she took the opportunity to study the control of prostitution. She felt that if she knew something of medical practice she would be much better equipped "to help fallen women and young mothers in any future rescue work she might undertake." With this objective she enrolled in the Women's Medical College of Georgia, located in Atlanta, and finished the three-year course. Although she acquired the M.D. degree in 1892, she did not use the title and never practiced medicine as a profession. Later she received from the same institution the honorary degree of Doctor of Science. Her first attempt to set up a "rescue home" in Atlanta met with many difficulties, but she persisted in her efforts and finally overcame the bitter opposition which had even brought threats of mob violence. She met with the city council, which had previously been unfriendly; and, at her suggestion, the council appointed an investigating committee and eventually offered to the group interested in establishing a home a four-acre tract of land belonging to the city. A grant by the city council of \$100 a month for run-

⁵ *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases* (Fernald Memorial Number), April 1930, pp. 105-6.

⁶ Otto Wilson in collaboration with Robert South Barrett, *Fifty Years' Work with Girls: A Story of the Florence Crittenton Homes* (Alexandria, Va., 1933), pp. 154-56.

ning expenses was matched by the county commissioners, and Mrs. Barrett instituted a campaign for funds for a large new building. It was in connection with this campaign that she first met Charles N. Crittenton, a wealthy businessman of New York who for some years had been active in "rescue work" in New York and elsewhere. He promised financial assistance which would insure the erection of the proposed building, with the request that the home should adopt the name of "Florence Crittenton" and become one of the growing number of similar institutions established in memory of his daughter. The Atlanta home was erected and began its activity early in 1893.

What her biographer calls "the second phase" of Kate Waller Barrett's life began after she had devoted herself for twenty years to the main task of bringing up her children and creating a happy family life. Her husband was appointed General Missioner of the Protestant Episcopal church, with the whole of the United States as his field; and the family moved to Washington, D.C., where he was to maintain his residence while he traveled about the country. But Dr. Barrett's health began to fail, and he died in 1896. A book which he wrote during his last illness, with Mrs. Barrett's help, was dedicated by him "To my wife, who in the midst of ceaseless labors for the unfortunate and the fallen, and many social demands which she did not ignore, has been ever faithful to her duties as wife and mother and has made her home a foretaste of Heaven." After her husband's death Mrs. Barrett devoted herself to the work for which she had been preparing. She assisted Mr. Crittenton in organizing new Crittenton homes, and together they approached the task of forming a national association which would bind together the many isolated homes created in various parts of the country as the result of Mr. Crittenton's work. In 1896 Mrs. Barrett became general superintendent of the newly formed national body, and she worked out the principles for the conduct of a rescue home. One of these principles reflected Mrs. Barrett's unalterable opposition to the then

prevalent custom of separating babies from their mothers soon after birth. Her biographer says:

Among maternity homes and hospitals, especially those of a commercial character, it had been the almost universal custom to separate the illegitimate child from its mother, putting it out for adoption or handing it out to a foundling asylum. It was merely a badge of shame, to be bundled out of sight as quickly as possible, with scarcely a thought as to what might happen to mother and child as a result of this unnatural tearing asunder. Against this practice Mrs. Barrett set herself positively and unreservedly.

In 1909 Mrs. Barrett was a member of the White House Conference on Dependent Children. She no doubt astonished some of the private agency representatives of that day by her advocacy of state supervision:

I represent 78 private institutions, all of which care for some children. If there is one thing that impresses me in my work with private institutions caring for children, it is the need of state supervision. . . . I want to make that appeal from the very bottom of my heart, because I have had so much experience lately with children who have been placed in homes by indifferent societies and have not had the proper supervision after being so placed. A private institution has nothing to lose and everything to gain by public investigation.

She also addressed the Conference on the subject of co-operation between child-caring societies and other community agencies. Hers was a voice crying in the wilderness. In 1910, when her philosophy was still far from being accepted generally, she said in a speech at the National Conference of Social Work:

I do not believe that a marriage certificate carries with it a diploma for conscientious, intelligent motherhood. Nor do I believe that the lack of such a certificate robs a woman of these qualities, if by nature she possesses them. If a woman has the God-given endowment for motherhood, no man-made law can take it from her. Unless society recognizes the value of and encourages it wherever found, it is robbing itself of one of its most valuable assets.

We cannot consider the unmarried mother and her child without taking into consideration

at least two other parties whose welfare is closely wrapped up in theirs. These are the father of the child and society at large. Anyone who attempts to deal with this problem upon a narrower basis than this is sure to fail in its solution.

Upon the death of Mr. Crittenton in December, 1909, Mrs. Barrett succeeded him as president of the Florence Crittenton Mission. She devoted the remaining years of her life to building up the national organization and to raising the quality of service of its affiliated homes. Her gifts of leadership and inspiration and her unusual executive ability were expended upon this organization, and her forward-looking mind blazed the trail for those who were to follow her. She knew that times change and that new ideals of social service would take the place of the methods she had inaugurated. She believed in the responsibility of the general public and the subordination of private interests to the interests of society as a whole.

Unremitting as were her labors in behalf of her major interest, Mrs. Barrett did not limit herself to this one activity. She was keenly alive to significant movements of her day in all fields of endeavor affecting human welfare, especially those which had as their objective the fuller participation of women in the affairs of her state, the nation, and the world. "Co-operation is the watchword of all twentieth-century movements" was her motto. In 1899 she had been elected corresponding secretary for the National Council of Women of the United States, and in that year and again in 1909 she was a delegate to the meetings of the International Council of Women and a speaker at their sessions. She was a delegate to conventions of the W.C.T.U. and the King's Daughters and an active participant in state and national conferences of charities. As a special agent of the Bureau of Immigration of the United States Department of Labor she visited Paris, Vienna, Budapest, Berlin, Belgrade, Sofia, and Constantinople to study questions bearing upon the traffic in women and deportation problems. She represented the state of Virginia in the National Congress of Mothers, and was an active member

of the D.A.R., the National League of Social Service, and many other organizations.

During the first World War Mrs. Barrett helped in Liberty Bond campaigns and mobilized Florence Crittenton forces for services in connection with social hygiene movements, and she was the only woman member of the Virginia Committee on Training Camp activities. After the war ended, she was a delegate to the Women's International Peace Congress held in Zurich in 1919. She was active in organizing the American Legion Auxiliary of the Department of Virginia and became its first president, and in 1923 she became national president of the American Legion Auxiliary. When she died at her home in Alexandria, Virginia, "the flag over the Capitol was flown at half-mast—the first time in the history of Virginia, it is said, that it was so lowered to mark the passing of a woman."

Throughout her many and varied activities, the interest that lay closest to the heart of Kate Waller Barrett was the work done by the increasing chain of Florence Crittenton homes for the care of unmarried mothers and their babies. Changing with the needs of the times and the development of improved methods and new ideals of medical and social service, these homes will remain an enduring memorial to the sympathies and the wise guidance of this pioneer in the humane and intelligent treatment of the unmarried mother and her child.

III. H. H. HART (1851-1932)

CRUSADER FOR BETTER CHILD CARE

Hastings Hornell Hart is known to his biographers mainly as a penologist, but for more than a quarter of a century he was a pioneer worker for the better care of children, especially the dependent, neglected, and delinquent. Born in Ohio, he was a graduate of Oberlin College and of Andover Theological Seminary. After a brief period with the United States Indian Service, he became pastor of a church in Minnesota. For fifteen years he was secretary of the Minnesota State Board of Correction and

Charities, and during these years he took a prominent part in the deliberations of the group of public officials who organized the National Conference of Charities, which later became the National Conference of Social Work. He served as president of the National Conference in 1893, the year in which, among other notable events, the conference Committee on the History of Child-saving Work made its report and an International Conference of Charities and Correction was held.

From 1898 to 1909 H. H. Hart was superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, and he was secretary of the committee which framed the Illinois juvenile court law. He was one of the small group of men who persuaded President Theodore Roosevelt to call the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children held in Washington in 1909, and he was chairman of the committee which framed the resolutions of that conference. In 1919 he was a member of the Conference on Child Welfare Standards and at one of its sessions gave an address on "The Conclusions of the White House Conference—Ten Years After." In 1909 he began his national work for children as director of the newly created Child-helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation and continued this work until 1924, when he became the foundation's consultant on delinquency and penology.

Those who knew Dr. Hart during his service with the Russell Sage Foundation remember him as an elderly gentleman with an encyclopedic memory for people and events and with seemingly inexhaustible energy. Pamphlet after pamphlet was published by state organizations or appeared from the Russell Sage Foundation press, reporting the results of his surveys of public and private institutions and agencies caring for children. He was indefatigable in his efforts to secure reforms in state legislation and in the management of child-caring institutions. A paragraph in his address as president of the National Conference in 1893 was prophetic of his later work in the child-caring field:

Those who are engaged in a great work are often too impatient of the time and labor necessary to make full and accurate records of their work; yet it is these records by which we are able to avail ourselves of the experience, and avoid the mistakes of our predecessors. It is painful to see well-meaning people expending their strength and their resources in repeating the mistakes which might have been avoided by a knowledge of what others have done before them; to see bad organizations, wasteful systems, defective buildings, whose faults might easily have been remedied.

The *Proceedings* of the National Conference contain twenty addresses by Dr. Hart on a variety of subjects ranging from prison reform, rural jails, and care of juvenile delinquents, to the care and protection of the feeble-minded and of dependent and neglected children. Throughout the country he was called into consultation by legislative bodies, state boards, and public and private institutions. Dr. Hart's efforts to secure the co-ordination of child welfare work never relaxed. In an address before the 1909 National Conference, on "Unity in Child-helping Work," he said:

I joined this Conference in 1883 and have seen a most interesting evolution. Twenty-six years ago there was a sharp division between the advocates of different methods of caring for dependent and delinquent children, especially those advocating the institutional plan and the placing-out system. We had for many years committees on dependent children and for delinquent children. Then we had separate committees on juvenile courts, playgrounds, and child labor. Tonight we meet under the auspices of the "Committee on Children." It is recognized that the different lines of work for children are so related that it is impossible, even if it were desirable, to separate them. . . . The successful co-ordination of child-helping organizations depends, in its last analysis, upon the spirit of the workers. There must be willingness to disregard personal interests and feelings in order to secure the best results for the child.

Dr. Hart recognized child-placing in families as an important branch of organized child welfare work. In his Introduction to a book on *Child-placing in Families*, prepared by his associate, Dr. W. H. Slingerland, he

emphasizes the need for literature on the methods of child-placing and for development of standards of family-home care.⁷ He points out that "as long ago as 1899 Hon. Thomas M. Mulry, of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, as Chairman of the Committee on the Care of Destitute and Neglected Children in the National Conference, discussing the report of the committee of the preceding year, declared that 'the preponderance of opinion seemed to be in favor of placing the children in good homes where such could be found and the circumstances warranted such action being taken.'" But still, almost twenty years later, Dr. Hart writes:

There has been no textbook for those who are called to take up this complex and delicate task. They simply have to "learn by hard knocks" and the poor children have had to suffer for the mistakes made.

There has not even been agreement in different parts of the country as to what was meant by "child-placing." In some communities it is applied chiefly to boarding-out of children in family homes; in others, almost exclusively to the placing of children in free homes without the payment of board. . . . Some of the agencies which have placed out children have not even been willing to admit that they did this work.

Heretofore there have been no established standards. The most active and best organized agencies have gradually come, it is true, to agree on many points; but, even among these, diverse views are held on such important matters as the need for receiving homes, the number of children that can be cared for by one agent, and whether unmarried mothers should be urged to care for their own children, and if so, for how long. But there are many agencies, institutions, and individuals who dispose of children, body and soul, with little more thought or conscience than they would give to the disposal of surplus kittens or puppies.

Dr. Hart says that the book issued by the Department of Child-helping

makes it plain that the selection of the foster-home is a crucial matter—not only a home which may be suitable for some child but the home that is best suited to the needs of the par-

ticular child in hand. . . . It is made plain also that the careful fitting of the child to the home and the forming of happy relationships between it and the foster-parents, at the outset, are indispensable in order to insure a good result.

At the national conferences Dr. Hart set aside the greater portion of his time for personal interviews with those engaged in child care. The younger workers, especially, eagerly anticipated this feature of the annual meetings, always scheduled on the conference bulletin board, and they never failed to gain new inspiration for their work and sound advice regarding problems confronting them. Through his widespread investigations of child-caring work, Dr. Hart knew conditions in all parts of the country, and his advice was based upon the solid foundation of facts and of conditions which must be overcome in order to achieve progress. Dr. Hart was a sturdy pioneer in the field of social welfare. The influence of his work in behalf of children and his help and encouragement to the social workers of his day are beyond measure.

IV. FLORENCE KELLEY (1859-1932)

CHAMPION OF WORKING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

For forty years of her life Florence Kelley devoted herself to the cause of women and children. Of Quaker ancestry, she was born in Philadelphia. Her father, William D. Kelley, an able lawyer and a distinguished political leader of his time, later became a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. She was one of the first women students at Cornell University. She also studied at the University of Zurich and obtained a law degree from Northwestern University. In Zurich she married a Polish nobleman. After the marriage was dissolved, she returned to the United States and resumed her maiden name. For nine years, while working in Illinois, she was a resident of Chicago's Hull-House and was a friend and associate of Jane Addams and Julia C. Lathrop.

As an agent of the Bureau of Labor Sta-

⁷ W. H. Slingerland, *Child-placing in Families* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1919).

tistics of Illinois she made an investigation of the needle trades in the tenements of Chicago, and later she was made the first chief inspector of factories of Illinois. After four years in this work, she was appointed by the United States Department of Labor as agent in charge of the Chicago division of its investigation of the "Slums of Great Cities." Jane Addams devoted a chapter of her book on *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* to Miss Lathrop's lifelong friendship with Florence Kelley, which began when "F. K." became a member of the Hull-House family in 1891. She says: "Florence Kelley . . . galvanized us all into more intelligent interest in the industrial conditions all about us. She was especially concerned for the abolition of child labor and the sweating system and she urged such remedial measures as shorter hours and the elimination of night work." One of the Hull-House residents is quoted as saying: "Hull-House I verily believe was the most interesting place in the world when Julia Lathrop and Mrs. Kelley were both there." Miss Addams goes on to say: "The persons who knew both of these brilliant women at Hull-House tend to associate them together and vividly recall the long and scintillating discussions between them not only when both were residents but long afterwards when they both met there."

In 1899 Mrs. Kelley became head of the National Consumers' League, with her office in New York; and during her thirty-two years of service for this organization she was a long-time resident of the Henry Street Settlement, of which Lillian Wald was the head. Their association led to the inception of the plan which, after many years of effort, culminated in the creation of the United States Children's Bureau in 1912. Miss Lathrop said that the passage of the Children's Bureau Act "was aided by such support from the settlements as perhaps few of us realize." In her book on *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation*, written in 1905, Mrs. Kelley outlined a plan for a "United States Commission for Children." With regard to the purpose of such a commission she said: "If the right to childhood is recognized, it

follows that the welfare of children is a legitimate interest of the nation, for the right rests upon the future citizenship of the children." She suggested that the functions of the proposed commission should be "to correlate, make available, and interpret the facts concerning the physical, mental and moral condition and prospects of the children of the United States, native and immigrant." She proposed the following tentative list of problems with which such a commission might be concerned: "Infant Mortality, Registration of Births, Orphanage, Desertion, Illegitimacy, Degeneracy (subnormal childhood), Delinquency, Offenses against Children, Illiteracy, Child Labor."

In her characteristic way she illustrated the need for concern about infant mortality by saying:

If lobsters or young salmon become scarce or are in danger of perishing, the United States Fish Commission takes active steps in the matter. But infant mortality continues excessive, from generation to generation, in perfectly well-defined areas; yet no one organ of that national government is interested in the matter sufficiently even to gather, collate, and publish consecutive information about this social phenomenon.

Her grasp of social welfare problems and her advanced ideas about methods of treatment are shown by her statements about child dependency:

Orphanage is now generally recognized as a phenomenon social and permanent. . . . It is a matter of national importance that continuous investigations should be carried on covering methods of safeguarding adult life—insurance, pensions for widows with young children, adoption of total orphans, asylums and methods of boarding out children. . . . Desertion and illegitimacy are phenomena which, from the child's point of view, are to be classed with orphanage.

It was a fitting culmination of Mrs. Kelley's long efforts to secure a United States Commission for Children, that, when the United States Children's Bureau was finally created, Julia C. Lathrop was appointed as its head. During the remaining years of her

life, Mrs. Kelley was a valued adviser of the bureau.

While the immediate concern of Mrs. Kelley's own work lay in the field of prevention of child labor and safeguarding the employment of children and women, the breadth of her vision and her realistic approach to these problems are reflected in the chapter titles of her book⁸—"The Right to Childhood"; "The Child, the State, and the Nation"; "The Right to Leisure"; "The Right of Women to the Ballot"; "The Rights of Purchasers." The first chapter begins with this statement:

It is no part of the aim of this chapter to prove that the right to childhood exists. That right follows from the existence of the Republic and must be guarded in order to guard its life which must perish if it should ever cease to be replenished by generations of patriots, who can be secured on no other terms than the full recognition of the need of long-cherished, carefully nurtured childhood for all the future citizens. . . . The right to childhood having been recognized, an ethical gain has been achieved, and farther gains may be accomplished.

Mrs. Kelley was an active participant in sessions of the National Conference and served as chairman of its Committee on Industrial and Economic Problems. Hers was no uncertain voice in behalf of adequate schooling as a substitute for harmful employment of children, abolition of tenement-house industries, wages for men and women that would insure a decent standard of family life, freeing charity of the burden placed upon it by industry, and against prejudice. After the first World War she spent two months in Europe and was profoundly stirred by conditions that she found there. She reported to the 1919 National Conference:

Three weeks ago tonight, at the great University of Zurich, I promised an audience as large as this, an audience in which twenty nations were represented, that I would return to America and would plead with every audience that would listen, to undertake the task and

work at it unceasingly until success is achieved forever more—the task of establishing over this whole planet the right, at least of children, not to starve. I promised to appeal to every man and woman, and especially to all the mothers of this great nation, that whatever their interests, whatever is foremost in their minds and their activities, they place this interest alongside of that foremost one, that none of us should rest while it remained true that we are rich in food while other peoples' children are permanently hungry.

Mrs. Kelley's incisive wit and her ability to hew at the root of social and economic problems is illustrated by her remark at a session of the National Conference in which methods of caring for widows and their children were being discussed: "The thing to do for widows and orphans is to abolish them," and she went on to discuss workmen's compensation laws and prevention of industrial accidents.

Edith Abbott said of her: "The method of social progress in which Florence Kelley believed almost devoutly was that of direct assault. She brought magnificent weapons to bear on the enemy. Sleepless, tireless, indefatigable, she was always on the alert. Life was never dull and the world was never indifferent where she lived and moved."

After Florence Kelley's death, Miss Lathrop in an article in the *Survey* wrote:

To those who read this inadequate page the name of Florence Kelley is well known. Many of you know her as a personal friend and feel for her an intimate affection and a deep respect. None of us can quite bear yet to speak of her as if she had gone away from this world which she so tenderly loved, and the more we consider what she has given to it the more we realize that she had exemplified a spirit and method of social study and social work in the full sense of the words which will survive as long as those who come after her desire to continue her efforts, not looking down meticulously for her footprints, but in her spirit, heads up, looking forward, as she would wish.

V. JULIA C. LATHROP (1858-1932)

A GREAT PUBLIC SERVANT

Julia Clifford Lathrop was the daughter of early settlers in the northern Illinois vil-

⁸ Florence Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation* (New York, 1905).

lage which later became the city of Rockford. When the question of ancestry happened to be under discussion, Miss Lathrop was wont to remark, without further explanation, that her first American forebear could not come over in the Mayflower because he was in jail when that vessel sailed. The story was that this ancestor was the Reverend John Lothrop, who had served as a "perpetual curate" at Edgton, Kent, for a number of years, when for conscience' sake he renounced holy orders and became minister of a congregation of nonconformists in London. Tracked down by the followers of Archbishop Laud, most of the members of the congregation were arrested, and the minister was committed to prison. At the end of two years he petitioned the king "for liberty to go in exile," but it was not until ten years later, in 1634, that he landed with thirty followers in Boston. He accepted an invitation from the settlers of Scituate in the Colony of New Plymouth to become their pastor. John Lothrop was acclaimed "a sound scholar and a lively preacher." He had a number of children, all of whom founded families in New England.*

John Lothrop's descendant, William Lathrop, Julia's father, was born in New York State, attended an academy, and later studied law in Genesee County; but, in the pioneer spirit of that age, he left New York for the unknown fortunes of Illinois, where he was admitted to the bar and eventually settled in the village in northern Illinois which became his permanent home. After the city of Rockford was incorporated, he held several municipal offices and in time became a member of the state legislature and a member of Congress. Miss Lathrop's mother was a member of a pioneer family which had also come from New York State to the settlement on the Rock River. She graduated with the first class of the early institution for the higher education of women, the Rockford Female Seminary (now Rockford College).

Soon after graduation from Vassar Col-

* Jane Addams, *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* (New York, 1935), pp. 1-3.

lege, Julia Lathrop began a long career of social service as an early resident of Hull-House on Chicago's West Side. To quote the words of her friend and colleague, Jane Addams, her work revealed a "profound sense of human pity for her helpless fellow-men, her responsibility for basic human needs which afforded so much of the driving power back of her splendid abilities." During the dire years which followed the panic of 1893 she helped in the establishment of the relief organization which developed eventually into the Chicago United Charities, and she became a volunteer Cook County visitor in a large district adjacent to Hull-House. For several years she served as a member of the Illinois State Board of Charities and visited poorhouses in every county of the state. Her concern was expressed particularly for the insane, who were confined in the poorhouses, and in time her efforts resulted in their removal to state hospitals, where those suffering from mental disease could receive more adequate care. Miss Lathrop worked for the introduction of vocational therapy in these institutions. In 1898 she visited Scotland and Belgium to learn about the methods of caring for the insane in those countries. She resigned from the Board of State Charities in 1901 as a protest against "spoils politics" but was reappointed by a new governor in 1905 and served for five more years. She was a charter member of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, founded in 1909, and was active in the organization of the Chicago branch of this society.

Miss Lathrop's common sense and kindly humor enliven a little handbook of *Suggestions for Visitors to County Poorhouses and to Other Public Institutions*, published in 1905 by the Public Charities Committee of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs. Her methods of achieving better conditions of care for the poor and the mentally ill and for children in the public institutions of her state may be epitomized in the words which end the handbook: "To be good-tempered, to be just, to be patient, to be persistent, to be courageous and, again, to be good-tempered."

To quote again from Miss Addams:

She possessed an unusual understanding of promising young people, with a great confidence in their ability to right the wrongs of the world, each in his own way, but she also maintained a profound sense of identification with human frailty which was so basic with her that she never needed to say, "But for the grace of God, there go I," since her attitude was so obvious. She was the most stimulating and great-hearted of friends. She gave her whole mind, the endless resources of her rich experience, to a given situation. . . . She, therefore, possessed that power of insight into a social situation which affection alone can supply; and all her efforts for a better social adjustment were founded upon a knowledge of the inner life of those so sorely oppressed by untoward conditions.

Miss Lathrop was a co-founder with Dr. Graham Taylor of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, which later became the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. She helped to formulate the plan for the original juvenile court law of Illinois, and through her personal service aided in the establishment of the first juvenile court in the United States in 1900 and the creation of its psychopathic institute ten years later. Her interest in better methods of caring for dependent children and in the prevention of child dependency led to active association with the "mothers' pension" movement, which had its origin in Chicago in 1911.

With this background of service and with her outstanding ability, she was recognized as the logical head of the federal activity in behalf of children which had been recommended by the White House Conference on Dependent Children in 1909 and authorized by act of Congress in 1912. Miss Lathrop was appointed chief of the United States Children's Bureau by President Taft and held this position through successive administrations for the first nine years of the bureau's existence. During these vital years of organization the bureau's mold was firmly set in the pattern recommended by those to whom it owed its inception—a medium for the dissemination of information and for development of standards of service for "the whole

child." In her earlier work at Hull-House and in her native state she had taken a strong stand in behalf of racial minorities, and she continued to emphasize the importance of making good services available to all the children of the nation, regardless of race, national origin, place of residence, or economic status of their parents.

Miss Lathrop had a strong sense of international responsibilities, fostered by her work as an "assessor" on a committee of the League of Nations and by her visits to England and other European countries as well as to other parts of the world, and she did much to promote understanding of social welfare and health problems. After the first World War she went to Warsaw, Poland, and Czechoslovakia to help in mapping out plans for child welfare services. Perhaps her most ambitious venture was in connection with the Conference on Child Welfare Standards held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau in 1919 as the climax of "Children's Year," when she arranged for participation in the conference of twelve guests from abroad representative of medical services, interest in safeguarding employment of children, and social services in England, France, Belgium, Serbia, Japan, and Italy.

Beginning very early in her social service career, Miss Lathrop took an active part in the discussions at the National Conference. The *Cumulative Index of the Conference Proceedings*, published in 1923, contains references to seventeen papers presented by Miss Lathrop. She was a working member of innumerable committees. In 1919 she was president of the conference and guided the memorable sessions at Atlantic City with rare dignity and characteristic humor and an understanding of differing points of view. The following excerpts from her presidential address illustrate the clarity of her thinking and the breadth of her concern for children:

The protection of childhood is costly. The standards we are willing to accept and carry forward are a test of democracy because they are a test of whether it is the popular will to pay the cost of what we agree is essential to the wise and safe bringing up of children. . . . Democracy is that form of government and spirit among

men which actively insists that society must exist to give every human being a fair chance. A fair chance for everyone does not begin with adult life nor with infancy. Its mysterious springs are more and more swathed in mystery as we push backward from man, the youth, the child, the baby, to the endless line of the generations out of which each living being emerges in his turn. But our responsibility is only with today; tomorrow will take care of itself as did yesterday. . . .

The whole question of putting such standards into operation is this: Are we willing to spend the money? Can we make ourselves spend the money? Will we steadily push forward the new legislation, state and federal, which is needed to give them effect? And let us not forget that the universality of their application is a stern test of our democracy. Without universality the standards are sounding brass. We owe much to the sad children of invaded, war torn Europe, but we shall pay that debt best if we pay at the same time our debts at home. We shall cut a poor figure in leading the world democracy if we fail to put in order our own "vast unswep hearth."

Miss Lathrop resigned from the Children's Bureau in 1921 to return to the city of her birth, but national and state problems continued to claim her attention. For a long time she had been interested in social welfare and health activities of our southern neighbors, and almost immediately after leaving the bureau she visited Brazil and other countries of South America. Shortly after her return to the United States, President Coolidge appointed her a member of a commission to look into conditions on Ellis Island. Upon returning to Illinois she became a leader in the challenging activities of the League of Women Voters; for two years she was president of the Illinois league and she was also a member of the National Board of the League of Women Voters.

To the end of her life Miss Lathrop's concern for the welfare of children continued, and, as she said in a letter addressed to Katharine F. Lenroot, later chief of the Children's Bureau, she felt "quite gaily confident" that the work she believed to be so vital would endure in spite of all obstacles and discouragements. Her last months were saddened by the impending execution of a

seventeen-year-old boy who had been convicted of a crime in her home city, and she was untiring in her efforts to secure a commutation of the death sentence for this immature youth.¹⁰

Miss Lathrop's assurance that continual progress would be made toward the goal which she envisioned was expressed at a session of the National Conference in 1921:

Times change but it is necessary to have any better definition of the obligation of our nation to her children than that it shall be to secure to each of them the inalienable right set forth in the Declaration of Independence to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? It is for us in our little day to do what we can toward translating that dictum . . . we are on the path of democratic progress which cannot lead anywhere except toward better opportunity for life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness for every child. In fact, one dares to hope that—not in our day but before the history of our country is all written—we shall add another clause and say that the rights of the child include not only the pursuit of happiness but its attainment.

VI. R. R. REEDER (1859-1934)

AN EDUCATOR WHO REMADE A CHILDREN'S INSTITUTION

"But why should you want to hear a pin drop?" Dr. Reeder asked an institution superintendent, who showed him through an old orphanage and called his attention in this way to the perfect silence of her charges. The question was typical of the approach with which this educator entered into his work in a new field as superintendent of the oldest institution for dependent children in New York City and the spirit in which he developed his philosophy of the needs of children who had been deprived of their own homes and the methods of care which he developed.

Rudolph R. Reeder was born in Ohio and received his early education in that state. He was graduated from the Illinois State Normal University and received the Ph.D. degree from Columbia University. While in Illinois he served for three years as a public school

¹⁰ A year after Miss Lathrop's death, the death sentence was commuted by the governor on the recommendation of the State Board of Parole.

principal and was connected with the Model School of the State Normal University, where he taught psychology. At Columbia he was an instructor and extension lecturer in education.

In 1900 Dr. Reeder undertook the task of rebuilding the New York Orphan Asylum, then a congregate institution whose history dated back to the early years of the preceding century. Dr. Edward T. Devine tells us in *Principles of Relief* that Dr. Reeder described institutional life at that time as "a combination of rote, routine, and dead leveling, based upon law and coercion, without liberty or individual initiative." He entered the institutional field with the understanding that he was to build a new plant and utilize methods of care and training which seemed to him to be suited to the needs of the children. As an educator, Dr. Reeder's conception of the role of an institution in equipping children for life in the community seemed radical in that day, which held that all the boys should be put out on farms in the West and all the girls should be trained for domestic service. He saw no reason why dependent children should not be treated as individuals and have the same educational opportunities that children in their own homes have. Inspired by Dr. Reeder's viewpoint, Mrs. R. G. Dun, a prominent member of the institution's board, placed funds at his disposal either to send children to college or to provide specialized training beyond that which was afforded by the high school at Hastings. The "Dun Fund" has continued to make such training available. When Dr. Reeder became superintendent, children in institutions were dressed in uniforms and were not permitted to talk during mealtime. Dr. Reeder abolished such regulations. He had all the children weighed and measured and their condition compared with standards for normally healthy children; those who were underweight were given special diets, a striking innovation in that day.

The "cottage plan" institution developed by Dr. Reeder at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, became a mecca for those interested in child care, and the success of this venture had far-reaching influence upon the exten-

sion of this system throughout the country. Dr. Reeder's work in association with other pioneers of that day, especially with Brother Barnabas, who developed the division of the Catholic Protectors known as the "agricultural school" at Lincolnale, and with Ludwig B. Bernstein, of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, was an important factor in the reconstruction of child-caring activities in New York City and throughout the state.

Dr. Reeder's philosophy with regard to institutional care is reflected in the following abstracts from an address at the 1907 meeting of the National Conference:

The repression by system and repression by authority that necessarily accompany well-grooved institutionalism can only become oppression to the natural exuberance of the child. The child is by nature an observer, a doer, a maker, a producer. Not to provide for the spontaneous exercise of these activities in his institutional home is simply to shrivel and stupefy the child soul. To attempt to provide for their expression by means of a narrow, strait-laced factory or militant system is to take the high-bred colt from the open pasture and harness him to a treadmill. . . .

Institution training as we usually find it lacks range and motive. It is narrow and empty where it should be broad and full. The child's early training should lead into life—not into isolation. . . . Orphan asylums have too long been children's monasteries. . . .

Dr. Reeder was a member of the 1909 White House Conference on Dependent Children. He addressed the conference on the subject of "Cottage Institutions":

The question as to whether the congregate or the cottage type of institution should be provided for the dependent child is so manifestly one-sided to those who have tried both that no discussion is necessary. But there are many people interested in the question who have tried neither one, and to them the question may be an open one. There are four concepts to be kept clearly in mind throughout the discussion. These are the natural home of the child, the home into which he was born, his birthright; the congregate institution; the cottage institution; and the family home. . . .

Now, this concept [the natural home of the child] we will designate as the real thing. Every

other concept or abiding place which may be proposed as a substitute for this natural heritage of the child, whether it be congregate institution, cottage institution, boarding home, indenture home, or adopted home, is not the real thing. The yearning for blood kindred is a deep seated, natural instinct in every child. It is a soul hunger which no foster home, whatever its type, can permanently satisfy.

He went on to describe the fundamental characteristics of the cottage plan:

The cottage plan does not mean merely a method of housing. In the hands of institutional managers it is capable of being made as institutional as the congregate form of housing. Institutionalism is a state of mind rather than a mode of dwelling. The social, industrial, economic, ethical, and spiritual elements which enter into the cottage plan are of greater moment than its material and spatial features. But even on the material side it does not mean merely separate houses to sleep in and sit in or play in, while all go to a central dining room for meals which have been prepared in a large institution kitchen. The cottage should be as complete an imitation of the natural home of the child as it is possible to make it. None of the features of a model home must be overlooked. Sitting room and library, dining room, kitchen and pantry, bed rooms, toilets, attic, cellar, and porches, should all be there, for each one functions and has important interests and associations in the life of the child. Outside the cottage, flower beds, ornamental trees and shrubs, vegetable gardens, orchard and play space are important accessories.

The number of children in each family group is determined by four factors. First, the ability and personality of the cottage matron; second, the relation of the children to one another, whether the group is made up of single members of separate families or of several sets of brothers and sisters representing a few families; third, the number necessary to develop in the group a helpful cottage spirit or *esprit de corps*; fourth, the amount of work required of the cottage mother in the matter of supplying provisions, clothing, care in sickness, supervision of laundry, etc. If responsibility for these things is shared largely by other helpers, leaving the mother more time for personal association and oversight of the children, the group may be larger. As a rule, I should say the number in the group should not exceed 25 and less than 15 is not necessarily an advantage.

The methods inaugurated at the new institution at Hastings-on-Hudson were described in Dr. Reeder's book, *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn*,¹¹ in which he states some of the fundamental principles underlying the development of the institution in the country:

In our modern improved methods of sifting out economic values from what was formerly waste material, we have not to any great extent redeemed the time of early childhood. In fact, we hardly think of the period of child life as being so well planned as "to give for every day some good account," or any account at all.

The problem of the parent and the teacher is to bring about such a proper adjustment of the three factors of the formula—play, work, and school—as will leave no room for waste time. Usually we think of waste time as more closely related to play than to work, and yet it is possible to waste time in work quite as easily as in play. Too much work, or work not adapted to the child, will waste his time as seriously as too much play, or play that is empty and without creative interest. . . .

The most important thing for a little child to do is to grow, and the next most important thing for him to do is to play. But these two are very closely related. There cannot be healthy growth of both mind and body without healthful play. . . .

In 1913, at the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Brother Barnabas quoted Dr. Reeder as saying:

Just at present there is an awakening among educators concerning the absence of moral training in our public schools and efforts are made in different parts of the country to remedy this serious defect in our public school system. . . . The religious instruction should be intelligent, positive and spiritual. The religious motive should function practically in the discipline of the institution, that is, it should be appealed to frequently in individual and personal issues that may arise.

After his services with the Red Cross in France following the first World War, Dr. Reeder went to Serbia to put into operation the child welfare and public health program of the Serbian Child Welfare Association of

¹¹ New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1911.

America. As overseas commissioner of the association he performed a notable service in behalf of the homeless children of that war-devastated country. He advocated the placing and boarding of children in family homes rather than attempting to care for them in orphanages. The plan which he submitted to the association provided for a monthly cash subsidy to each widowed mother and to each family assuming the care of one or more of the dependent children. The requirements which must be complied with by foster-parents receiving subsidies provided that if the child was of school age he must attend school; orphans needing medical treatment were to be brought to the association's health centers for examination and afterward visited by dispensary and public health nurses. For his services to Serbia he was decorated by the King of Serbia with the Fourth Order of the White Eagle, the highest honor which could be conferred upon a "commoner."

After his return to the United States, Dr. Reeder gave valuable service to the United States Children's Bureau as one of the advisers who aided in the preparation of a *Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents, and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children*. Shortly thereafter he organized the Marsh Foundation School at Van Wert, Ohio. His experiences at this school formed the basis for a book published in 1933,¹² in which he described this effort to "provide a whole program for the whole child" and "methods of experimental training which prepare the youth for social co-operation, responsibility, and leadership." He described this program as having a whole life-setting as its foundation and including:

first, adequate care and the formation of sound health habits; second, the lure and urge to achieve; third, the atmosphere and nurture of affection, which is the flower garden of a joyous happy childhood; fourth, moral nature, respect for law, social controls and behavior; fifth, range and richness of play activity in which spontaneity, initiative and *jeu d'esprit* of young life finds expression; sixth, book knowledge and the use

of books for the interpretation of science and for the understanding of literature, history, and art; seventh, experience and training in work which develops effective responsibility and self-confidence, with practical training in the use of tools and implements for working in the soil, and with wood and metal; eighth, religious nurture and moral culture which crown the whole procedure and lead into spiritual and esthetic culture. Finally the end sought in this many-sided course of training is a well-integrated, socially adjusted, and harmoniously developed personality.

An item reporting the death of Dr. Reeder and enumerating some of his contributions to child welfare, in the *Survey* in its issue of November, 1934, ended with this sentence: "It will take years still for American social and educational practice to come abreast of the man."

VII. MONSIGNOR WILLIAM J. KERBY (1870-1936)

PRIEST AND TEACHER

"Every man is a thought of God" was the keynote of the teaching of this "priestly gentleman," who interpreted to his students and to groups throughout the country the meaning of "the dignity of man" in terms of spiritual truths and Christian charity. He was loved and respected by those of his own faith and by all others who came within the sphere of his influence. A true priest and a scholar, Dr. Kerby combined the humility and simplicity of a great soul with a clear vision of social problems that must be faced if this country is to become a real democracy.

Democracy is primarily social, moral and spiritual and secondarily, political. It is a philosophy of life as well as theory of government. It is inspired by a noble concept of the individual, of the dignity of his person, the sanctity of his rights, the claim of his powers to normal development. Democratic institutions taken in conjunction with sturdy home life, strong community sense, reasonable self-control, true valuations, healthy respect for religion and obedience to its spiritual teaching, and general education can scarcely fail of their high inspiring promise to humanity.¹³

¹³ Monsignor William J. Kerby, *The Social Mission of Charity* (first published in 1921; reprinted in 1944), p. 25.

¹² *Training Youth for the New Social Order* (Antioch Press, 1933).

The Irish forebears of William Joseph Kerby had settled in the Mississippi Valley, and he was born in Iowa. His father taught him Greek and Latin, and his mother "schooled him in the spirit of service to the poor by sending him with baskets of food to pioneer homes that lacked the necessities of life."¹⁴ His high-school and college education was obtained at a Catholic college in Dubuque, Iowa, and he early decided to become a priest. He studied for the priesthood at St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and was ordained in 1892. His marked intellectual gifts caused him to be sent to the Catholic University of America for graduate work. After receiving his Licentiate in Theology, he returned to teach in the college at Dubuque, and the following year he was invited to become a member of the faculty of the Catholic University in Washington. In 1895 he went to Europe to study advanced social legislation, his main work being done at the University of Louvain in Belgium. In the fall of 1897 Dr. Kerby began to teach sociology at the Catholic University, and in the course of his thirty-nine years of service to that institution he also acted as chaplain and professor at Trinity College for women in Washington.

Dr. Kerby took an active interest in the social problems of Washington. As a young professor he experimented with the possibilities of establishing a junior republic in one of the institutions for delinquent boys in the District of Columbia. He was appointed a member of the Board of Charities by President Wilson and was reappointed by Presidents Harding and Coolidge, and he was a valued adviser of many sectarian and nonsectarian groups concerned with social welfare, health, and labor conditions. No important conference on social welfare problems was without his wise guidance. He was a member of the 1909 White House Conference on Dependent Children; and, as a member of the 1919 Conference on Standards of Child Welfare, he addressed the session on

"Standardization of Child Welfare Laws," emphasizing the need of synthesizing into children's codes laws relating to the various phases of interest "in the hope of coming back to the real, whole, human view of life which we should ever have in mind."

Dr. Kerby repeatedly stressed the fundamental importance of understanding the nature and extent of social problems and of preventing, as well as relieving, them:

We should have more accurate information concerning our own poor. Nothing could stimulate Catholic action more than an accurate statement in any city or diocese, showing how poverty, delinquency, misery invaded the lives of the children of the Church.¹⁵

It seems as noble a charity, to prevent the death of miners by explosion as it is to care tenderly for the orphans when the fathers are needlessly killed. One hears a story frequently at social work conventions. A philanthropist refused to build a stout fence on a curving mountain road with a steep grade, which would prevent accidents, but preferred to build a hospital below where the victims of accidents might be cared for. Assuming a spiritual motive always, is not the former measure preferable to the latter? Charity may lead one to serve as big brother to a delinquent boy who goes before a juvenile court. May not charity inspire one to work for playgrounds where boys may spend their leisure time safely and thereby be saved from delinquency?¹⁶

He was a champion of social work because he understood so thoroughly its real objectives. At the National Conference of Catholic Charities in 1925 he said:

I would like to give one bit of advice to the critics of Social Work if they were here. We Catholics have reason to complain frequently that the enemies of the Church do not know the Church. . . . We ask the critics of the Church to obtain an accurate account of the Church's position before proceeding to oppose it. May we not do the same in respect of Social Work? When we meet its critics should we not ask them to define their understanding of Social Work and then to explain the sources of their objec-

¹⁴ From a pamphlet issued by the William J. Kerby Foundation, 1943.

¹⁵ *Proceedings of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1924*, p. 59.

¹⁶ *Ecclesiastical Review*, April, 1928.

tion? Very often, I do not venture to say how often, we do find that those who oppose Social Work suffer from misunderstanding, inadequate information or false assumption.

Dr. Kerby believed in "scientific" social work, that is, social work based upon knowledge of forces which operate to build up or to destroy human lives. He believed that there must be understanding not only of the nature and extent of problems in particular areas of need or disability but also an interchange of information among agencies working under various auspices, so that methods of treatment found useful by one agency might become accessible to all agencies pursuing the same general aims. Therefore he believed in training for social work.

If mere relief is the single aim in charity, trained social workers will not appear necessary. If it is content with superficial service that looks neither backward for wisdom nor forward for keener insight into the upward movement of life, the case for the trained worker is not strong. But if the Church and the spirit of her wonderful historical love of the poor have any call to large social action . . . must she not find among those whom her charity inspires men and women, religious and lay, who will act with the power of supreme devotion and speak reinforced with everything that gives understanding?¹⁷

He defined the ideal social worker as one who "seeks insight from the accumulated experience of the past and present, from those who write and interpret, from those who work and serve. In no other way can the noblest work in the world be done in the noblest way."

The brief biography which has been cited says:

Dr. Kerby deserves the title of founder of scientific social work among the Catholics in the United States. His merit rests on the skill and tact with which he fused the old and the new in Catholic charitable activities. Dr. Kerby was the prime mover for charity organized on national and efficient lines, which, with all its modern scientific method, retains as primary the ancient Catholic motive in charity.

He guided the experiment of the National Catholic School of Social Service during its early years. It was characteristic of him that he never accepted the title of director of the school, although he did the work of director from 1924 through 1929. Since its founding, this school has provided social work training for hundreds of young people from all over the United States, and it has attracted students from all parts of the world, especially the Western Hemisphere. The success of this school has inspired other communities to develop institutions for training in Catholic social work.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities, organized in 1910, was first suggested by Brother Barnabas, then superintendent of the Lincoln Agricultural School in Westchester County, New York; but the real founder was Dr. Kerby. For ten years Dr. Kerby was secretary of the conference, which included in its membership prominent Vincentians, women who had been active in similar work among the poor, and a growing number of priests and laymen engaged in Catholic charitable enterprises. The *Proceedings* of this conference throughout the years bear witness to the breadth of vision of the founder. Dr. Kerby was a moving spirit in establishing the National Catholic War Council, which was created when this country entered the first World War in order to bring unified action by Catholic organizations for the support of their country in this period of stress. The council later was organized permanently as the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Dr. Kerby traveled extensively throughout the United States, and his influence was felt by ever widening groups with which he conferred. He contributed to Catholic journals a vast number of articles on spiritual and sociological subjects; and his addresses before the National Conference and papers appearing in various publications made his name and his philosophy known to people of all faiths throughout the country and promoted understanding and co-operation between groups which had formerly dwelt

¹⁷ *The Social Mission of Charity*, p. 132.

upon divergencies of belief, methods, and objectives.

He was editor of the *St. Vincent de Paul Quarterly* from 1911 until 1917, when it was merged with the *Catholic Charities Review*. For nine years before his death he was editor of the *Ecclesiastical Review*. In 1921 his great contribution to the literature of social service, *The Social Mission of Charity*, was first published. This book has remained an important guide to social action, and it was recently reissued by the William J. Kerby Foundation, established in 1941.

Dr. Kerby held that progress must come through a co-operative approach to the solution of social understanding of the basic and economic problems that lie at the root of personal maladjustments. "Life is a united process in spite of our personal views and attitudes," he said; "they read life most deeply who read its parts in relation to the whole." Referring particularly to Catholic charities, he said:

The law of universal change operates in our charities as it does in the rest of the world. The changes that are now developing lead straight toward policies and methods which have been the outstanding characteristics of modern philanthropy for many years. Technical training, social service as a profession, salaries, systematic records, publicity, investigations of results, attention to causes as well as effects, to social and individual prevention as well as relief are inevitable and vindicated. It is merely a question of time and resources when we shall forget that we ever hesitated concerning them.¹⁸

As chairman of the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods of the 1912 National Conference of Charities and Correction, Dr. Kerby said:

Our relief agencies are endeavoring to understand the rights and wrongs of our dependent and defeated social classes. Our work, if it means anything, means that we must devise a supplementary constitution through which these classes will find their rights defined and protected, their wrongs understood and redressed. Hence, our work has a fundamental organic relation to social organization as a whole.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Dr. Kerby was a firm believer in research as a basis for knowledge of social conditions and wise treatment:

How shall we ever deal with undernourishment of children, needless deaths of mothers and infants, involuntary idleness, illiteracy, delinquency, the breakdown of the home and housing conditions, the injustice of the wages system, without careful study that will set the quantities of the facts before the conscience of the world? . . . The statistical table does for the student of social conditions and processes just what the microscope does in the laboratory. It gives enlarged vision and insight otherwise impossible.¹⁹

And again he said:

There are helpful and harmful ways of placing children in normal homes. Critical judgment of methods of institutions is established and the wisdom of the most capable becomes the heritage of all who will to profit by it. There are wise and unwise ways of conducting a day nursery. There are helpful and harmful ways possible in dealing with children in institutions.

A biographer wrote of him: "Perhaps, however, in final analysis the outstanding contribution of Monsignor Kerby was not so much in what he wrote, or the organizations which he directed, but it was the gift of himself to his fellow-men. His life was effective because of what people learned to see in him."²⁰

VIII. J. PRENTICE MURPHY (1881-1936)

INSPIRING GUIDE AND FRIEND

Mourn not for Adonais.—Thou young Dawn,
Turn all thy dew to splendour, and from thee
The spirit thou lamentest is not gone.

The soul of Adonais, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are.

The lines of Shelley lamenting the death of the young poet Keats express the thoughts of those who knew Prentice Murphy. How many times during the stress and strain of the last ten years we have heard the words: "If Prentice Murphy were only here

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁰ W. H. Russell, in the *Catholic World*, October, 1936, p. 40.

to help!" And yet we know that the inspiration of his life of service for children remains an unfailing light. During his all too short years he gave himself unstintingly to this cause, always stressing the spiritual values of life and the supreme importance of safeguarding the personalities and the rights of children.

Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, president of the National Conference of Social Work in 1936, paid this tribute to the memory of Prentice Murphy, who was the president-elect of the conference for the coming year:

Through the cycles of the years his was a glorious achievement in the arts of peace. Loving and understanding little children, he followed closely in the footsteps of one who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of God." Oppression and injustice to them seared his soul and caused him tribulations unspeakable.

We shall strive in vain to understand Prentice Murphy if we approach him in any other than a spiritual mood. His testament has long since been written in the child welfare movement of America.

Born in Pennsylvania, he worked in the foundry department of the Baldwin Locomotive Works for four years before entering the University of Pennsylvania. His social service work began in 1907 as a member of the staff of the Philadelphia Children's Bureau, where he worked for four years, leaving in 1911 to become general secretary of the Boston Children's Aid Society. In 1920 he returned to Philadelphia to take charge of the Children's Bureau, and he remained there until his death. He left an indelible record in the histories of these two agencies, but his interests and influence were not limited to the localities in which he lived and worked. The states of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts felt the impact of his philosophy of social welfare and the driving force of his helpfulness in planning legislation and social action in behalf of children. He contributed richly to the literature of social service, was a staff member of the schools of social work in Boston and Philadelphia, and

gave courses at several universities. His friend Leon Stern said of him:

In 1908 when Prentice Murphy taught in what was then the beginning of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, . . . he was a young man, debonair, courageous, and eager to face the future. This winter when he died, he was still in spirit a young man, as young as when he began his work more than thirty years before and still with his face to the future. Perhaps that is why he understood young people who were in social work, or who wanted to enter the new field. They came to him with their problems and difficulties, always finding a sympathetic, understanding listener and adviser.

Prentice Murphy was a working member of the National Conference of Social Work for more than twenty-five years, and the papers which he contributed to the *Proceedings* of this and other conferences concerned with social welfare would fill a substantial volume. He was chairman of the Division on Children of the National Conference in 1921, first vice-president of the conference in 1934, and was elected president for 1937. He was one of the founders of the Child Welfare League of America, and later served the league on the board of directors and as president. He participated actively in three of the White House conferences on children, and the standards formulated and the volumes published by these conferences bear witness to the spirit of Prentice Murphy. He was a valued adviser of the United States Children's Bureau and of other government agencies. Above all, he was an inspiring friend, who was always ready to give guidance and aid to those who needed his help.

Although his special interest was in the development of good foster-family care for children who were deprived of the protection and care normally afforded to children in their own homes, Prentice Murphy never lost sight of the fundamental importance of services that would prevent the separation of children from their own parents. He could stir audiences by his sympathetic, almost poetic, approach to the problems of children, but he often shocked them into action by recounting the wrongs done to children by

the very agencies set up for their care and protection. His speech at the 1922 session of the National Conference was boldly entitled "The Superficial Character of Child-caring Work." He began with the words: "Said an old African chief: 'My country destroys its children.' Say some of those who are in these United States: 'Our country destroys its children,' either spiritually or physically, and the process is only slightly hindered by the many child-caring and protective agencies which dot its fair lands." After a brief outline of the standards of care formulated by various conferences and committees and emphasis upon the basic values of home life and the fundamental need for adequate measures for child health and education, he went on with a scathing arraignment of the "poor, indifferent and bad" foster-care provided by many agencies and institutions.

We adopt out with light and careless touches; we place children in families worse than those they came from; we place them in families—due to our faulty methods of work—which are no true index of the stream of normal, wholesome life flowing through the communities. . . . Do we have a sense of values as to which is most important—the building of an institutional or organization group which we can see, or the conserving of the intangible values of health, education, and morality which we find it so hard to see? Don't let us deceive ourselves. There is much that is not fundamental about foster-family work; there is much that is not fundamental about foster institutional work. . . .

What I have said does not mean an immediate scrapping of work and interest for dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. The vast resources in the hands of these agencies need to be melted down and run into other molds. Our money will be made available for family preservation; we will board children with their own parents; we will give family relief out of our largess. . . . We will have money to make possible health work for children to the extent that they won't need foster-care.

It was a startling speech; it was iconoclastic, and for days the conference rang with heated denunciations by those whose complacency had been disturbed. But this modern St.

George, bent on slaying the dragon of indifference, had accomplished much more than could ever be gained by gently prodding the intelligence and the consciences of his hearers.

Prentice Murphy's fine feeling for children is illustrated by a paragraph from the speech quoted above:

Let us come to see what children really are. Each day the world is made anew through its childhood; each day countless opportunities are offered to us through our children. Let us catch their love for the beautiful, their love of sport, of play, of art, of truth and justice, the delicate fineness of all their sensibilities and capabilities, the numerous creative resources they have within them; then let us use their talents for that newer, finer life which is the great objective of social work. . . . America has a very different attitude toward its children from that of almost all other countries. This is fertile soil, and how rich will be the harvest if only we use the soil in the right way! .

IX. GRACE ABBOTT (1878-1939)

VALIANT DEFENDER OF THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

Although Grace Abbott was twenty years younger than Julia Lathrop when she succeeded her as chief of the United States Children's Bureau, there was a curious parallelism between their backgrounds and, perhaps because of this, a striking similarity of abilities and gifts of character. The Abbotts also came originally from England, first to Massachusetts and then westward to Connecticut and, later, to the pioneer state of Illinois. Grace Abbott's father, Othman Abbott, enlisted before he was eighteen and fought in the Civil War, becoming a first lieutenant. After the war he taught for a time while he read law, then went west to Nebraska in a covered wagon, where he built a prairie home and opened a law office. Then he went back to Illinois for his bride. He practiced law in Grand Island, Nebraska, was a member of two of the state's constitutional conventions, and later became lieutenant governor of Nebraska.²¹ Like the

²¹ Helen Cody Baker, "The Abbotts of Nebraska," *Survey Graphic*, June, 1936.

mother of Julia Lathrop, Grace Abbott's mother graduated with one of the early classes of the Rockford Female Seminary; and Jane Addams, herself a graduate of what became Rockford College, tells of the attendance of both of these pioneer women at the commencement marking the fiftieth anniversary of the first graduating class.

In her tribute to her sister Grace, Edith Abbott of the University of Chicago gives a delightful picture of the life of the four Abbott children on the Nebraska prairie.²² After graduation from a small college in her home town, Grace Abbott did graduate work at the University of Nebraska, was a teacher for eight years, later leaving her graduate work at the University of Chicago to become resident of Hull-House, director of the Immigrants' Protective League, and a member of the faculty of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. Her in-born interest in law and legal procedure led her to resume academic work by studying law for another six months under Roscoe Pound and Ernst Freund at the University of Chicago.

After she was appointed director of the newly formed Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago and took up residence at Hull-House, through these interrelated activities she labored to develop "those agencies designed to protect the immigrant against exploitation and to insure his proper Americanization." The vigor and sympathy with which she attacked the injustices and hardships to which the foreign-born were subjected have been described vividly in her sister's memoirs and in tributes by co-workers.²³ From time to time she took leaves of absence for special work. In 1911 she went to central Europe to study immigra-

tion at its source, and later spent some months in Hungary, Croatia, and Galicia. In 1913-14 she served as secretary of the Massachusetts Immigration Commission and prepared a notable report, which led to better legal protection for immigrants in that state. In 1915 she was a delegate to the Women's Peace Conference at The Hague; and following her return to this country she organized the Conference of Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities, held in Washington in 1916, and served as its chairman. She wrote a book on *The Immigrant and the Community*, which was published in 1917.

In the meantime, her colleague at Hull-House and at the School of Civics, Julia C. Lathrop, had become head of the newly created United States Children's Bureau and had tried unsuccessfully to persuade Grace Abbott to become a member of the bureau's staff. When the bureau was given responsibility for administering the new law regulating the employment of children in the manufacture of goods for interstate commerce, Miss Abbott saw its challenging possibilities, and, since this position might be temporary because the law was being contested as unconstitutional, she took leave of absence from her work in Chicago and went to Washington, April 1, 1917, to do pioneer work as administrator of the first federal Child Labor Law. After the law was declared unconstitutional in June, 1918, she remained in Washington for another year to continue child labor investigations, to serve as consultant for the War Labor Policies Board, and to assist the bureau with the activities of "Children's Year" and in planning and carrying out the program of the 1919 Conference on Child Welfare Standards. At the insistence of the governor of Illinois she came back to that state to assume direction of the Illinois Immigrants' Commission, which had been created by the legislature to embody Miss Abbott's own plan for an official commission with administrative authority as well as affording opportunities for social investigation. Under a new administration in Illinois this commission ceased to function, and Miss Abbott re-

²² "Grace Abbott: A Sister's Memories," *Social Service Review*, XIII (September, 1939), 351-407.

²³ Memorial issue of the *Child*, published by the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, August, 1939; and "Addresses Delivered at a Meeting in honor of, and in memory of, Grace Abbott, Held at the University of Chicago, October 18, 1939," *Welfare Bulletin of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare*, February, 1940.

established the work of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago.

In August, 1921, Grace Abbott returned to Washington, having been appointed by President Harding as Miss Lathrop's successor as chief of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor. She held office under four presidents—Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt. During her first year as chief of the bureau the Supreme Court declared the second federal Child Labor Law, enacted in 1919, unconstitutional; and she began work, in co-operation with a citizen's committee headed by Samuel Gompers, on framing a child labor amendment to the Constitution. Bitter opponents of the bureau denied the right of the federal government to limit the employment of young children. Miss Abbott, who felt keenly the consequences of delay which was sacrificing thousands of children, reiterated her warnings that "you cannot do for children five years hence what should be done for them today."

Shortly after she became head of the Children's Bureau, Congress passed the Sheppard-Towner Act, authorizing an annual appropriation for five years to be expended by the Children's Bureau for grants-in-aid to states for maternity and infant hygiene services. At the expiration of the time set and after forty-five states and the Territory of Hawaii had accepted the terms of the act and had inaugurated state programs for maternal and child health, enemies of federal grants-in-aid defeated renewal of the act for a longer period than two years, ending June 30, 1929.

Grace Abbott fought valiantly for measures which she felt were basic to the security of children. Like Miss Lathrop, she resisted successfully every attempt to undermine the bureau by injecting "spoils politics" into its administration, and she was an ardent advocate of civil service and the merit system in all public offices. During Miss Abbott's administration the bureau's program of research into social welfare, child health, and child labor was continued and expanded. She was demanding in her stand-

ards of accuracy and careful and wise in her interpretation of social facts. Her forward-looking philosophy in urging adequate provision for the needs of children may be summed up in her often quoted remark: "You can't feed children skim-milk today and make up for it by giving them cream tomorrow."

Edith Abbott's description of her sister would be echoed by all who knew her:

Grace had a most unusual gift of humor, which not only made her a delightful companion and a most welcome platform speaker but often proved to be a "saving grace" at a long and tedious meeting, so that people went home cheerful instead of annoyed. And her quick, good-humored repartee was occasionally the final argument with a congressional committee who had stoutly resisted all the carefully arrayed "facts, figures, and data" which she had laboriously assembled. She was a tireless public servant, who attended public meetings, encouraged local workers, conferred with public officials in all parts of the country, and gave those who invited her the impression that she enjoyed the fatiguing trip.

Grace Abbott's interest in international problems was always strong. She served as secretary of the Children's Committee of the First International Labor Conference, which met in Washington in 1919, having gone to London in the same year to participate in the work of the committee which organized the I.L.O. In 1922 President Harding appointed her as an American representative to serve in an unofficial capacity on the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. The name of this committee was later changed to: "Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Protection of Children," and Miss Abbott's dream of having "a proper Child Welfare Committee that would do something for the children of all the nations" was nearer fulfillment.

An active participant in the work of the National Conference of Social Work for many years, Grace Abbott was president of the conference in 1924. No one who attended the session of the conference on the Univer-

sity of Toronto campus will ever forget the inspiring setting or the thrill of hearing the assembly join in singing the two national anthems with the common air. The forceful presidential address of Grace Abbott ended with the words:

Out of the older communities comes the movement which is born of compassion for the needless and cruel suffering of children; out of the newer communities comes the faith in the realization of that new day for children to secure which the pioneer turned his face toward the West. One seeks to correct existing injustices, to overcome the apathy and inhibitions which devotion to tradition creates, to correlate the efforts of many toward a single object; the other requires creative imagination, the utilization of the opportunity of building anew with the right social perspective and with the place of the child in the future of the state fully recognized.

In 1934 Grace Abbott resigned as chief of the Children's Bureau to return to the Middle West, where she had always said she "belonged." She came back to the University of Chicago to be professor of Public Welfare Administration and editor of the *Social Service Review*. But she soon returned to Washington temporarily as a member of the Advisory Council on Economic Security, which helped to plan the Social Security Act. She prepared her large two-volume work on *The Child and the State*, published in 1938. She continued her interest in the Children's Bureau and in the Department of Labor and went to Washington frequently to testify before congressional committees and to work with committees. She served as chairman of the Illinois Child Labor Committee from 1934 until her death. In 1935 and again in 1937 she went to Geneva as head of the United States delegation to the International Labour Conference.

When Grace Abbott passed away at the age of sixty years, many and sincere were the tributes paid to this fearless leader of social thought and social action. A resolution by the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work, then in session in Buffalo, after recounting some of her con-

tributions to the nation and to the world, expressed what was in the hearts of her friends everywhere:

These strokes of leadership were only illustrations of her inveterate spending of herself for people, from the Middle West, to Washington, to the World. And through it all her friends in this conference and everywhere prize a gorgeous human being; whose fighting spirit in the causes she made her own, whose administrative capacity, and whose warmth in everyday relationships made her a living force in American life.

The head of the Canadian Welfare Council said this of her:

She was a woman of penetrating mind and efficient thought. Her sympathy and her zeal for economy in the ordering of life met in the crusade for those whose strength was not alone equal to the battle,—the unorganized worker, the immigrant, the child—all of them called to the innate sense of justice, the divine protective instinct in her, and serving their cause within her own land, she gave inspiration and fine factual data to the cause of their kindred in all lands of Western civilization, especially to her northern neighbors, and the South American States. . . . Wearing modestly the honorary degrees of numerous universities, revered abroad, and honoured at home, Grace Abbott remained essentially the frank, sincere, unaffected woman of her people, a statesman who never lost the human touch. The record of her life remains immortal in the progress of human welfare—a noble woman, who lived simply and greatly and served richly the world of her day.

And her successor as chief of the Children's Bureau wrote:

Although Miss Abbott was a great administrator and a great leader, it is as a fearless and careful seeker for truth that she made her deepest impress. With rare understanding of the significance of underlying social and economic trends, Miss Abbott saw the needs of children always in relation to general social needs, but unflinchingly insisted that the needs of children were paramount.

X. C. C. CARSTENS (1865-1939)

INTERPRETER OF THE NEEDS OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Perhaps no other person concerned with child welfare had such an intimate knowl-

edge of child-caring institutions and agencies throughout this country or could count among his devoted friends so many of the heads and staff members of these organizations, as did Christian Carl Carstens, known as "C. C." to all but his personal friends, to whom he was "Carl." He seemed to have been intended by nature for an academic career. But just as he was endowed with an ardent love of fine music, so he had an instinct which grew into a passion for service which would lighten the burden of children who were neglected, dependent, or physically handicapped and make available to them the opportunities which should be the heritage of all children. He had a scholar's interest in thoroughness and precision of facts and an artist's genius in interpreting dull figures and somber realities so that they reflected the experiences and deprivations of individual children. All his life he remained the careful, earnest seeker after truth, a person not afraid of shifting position when new light dawned. He was an omnivorous reader, and many weary hours spent in day coaches during his almost constant travels from state to state and from city to city throughout the country were lightened by the latest novel or the current book on history or economic problems. Those who knew him intimately knew the breadth and the balance of his many interests and marveled at the singleness of purpose and the intimate knowledge of conditions which he displayed when in conference with a community group or an institution head or a social worker seeking advice. A one-time member of his staff, the late Mary Irene Atkinson, said of him: "To have walked in the shadow of his friendship was like a benediction." To have been associated with him in his work for children was an education and a constant inspiration.

C. C. Carstens came to the United States from Germany with his parents when he was a young lad. He was brought up in Iowa and was graduated from Grinnell College. For a number of years he taught in Iowa high schools. He then attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he took a Ph.D. degree

in 1903. When he had completed these studies he became a member of the staff of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, of which Mary E. Richmond was then the head. Miss Richmond has been quoted as saying of him that he "developed a genius for thorough case work." Later he joined the staff of the New York Charity Organization Society when Edward T. Devine was its general secretary. For many years he was executive secretary of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and was instrumental in making that agency a state-wide organization which placed its emphasis not upon work as "an arm of the law" but upon constructive services which would, if possible, strengthen and maintain family ties. He was unrelenting in his efforts to safeguard children from neglect by parents and to stamp out conditions in communities which threatened the moral or physical welfare of children.

In 1915, Mr. Carstens aroused much attention by a forward-looking address at the National Conference, on "A Community Plan in Children's Work." He said that diversity of work had long been the most noticeable factor in children's work in the various states, but that long steps had been taken in the development of a national spirit, and "our social institutions are beginning to feel an impetus leading them also to consider ways and means that are national in their form and scope if not federal in their scheme of organization." He went on to say:

In the development of children's work in the United States, it is the opinion of many who have been active in one or another phase of the subject, that the time has come for giving shape to some general plan which shall have gathered together the successful experiences of various states and cities, shall weave them into an harmonious whole and make it possible for those who are working at the development of our various institutions in our newer communities, or who are interested in reshaping the children's institutions of the older states, to see what various forms of service it is necessary for communities to provide for the proper safeguarding of the children's interests.

His challenging statement of the scope of a community plan for child welfare was the keynote for Mr. Carstens' later work as the head of a national agency devoted primarily to helping communities to become better equipped for the care of dependent and neglected children. He always kept firmly in mind the interrelationship of social problems and the importance of adequate provision for health and educational services in relation to prevention of dependency and neglect and the treatment of individual children.

The 1909 Conference on the Care of Dependent Children had recommended the establishment of a private agency along the line of similar agencies in other fields to undertake work in behalf of dependent children, and in 1916 a small group organized the Committee on Exchange of Information. Funds for a permanent agency were furnished by the Commonwealth Fund, and in 1921 Mr. Carstens was chosen as the director of the new national agency, the Child Welfare League of America. Under his leadership the league grew into a co-operative organization of child-caring agencies and institutions which included in its membership more than three hundred child-placing agencies, institutions for dependent children, and state child welfare bureaus.

Mr. Carstens was a firm believer in the development of public, as well as private, activities in behalf of children. In common with other leaders of his day, he was an advocate of foster-family care, and he did much to improve the standards and methods of work of child-placing agencies, and especially to change the trend from a preponderating reliance upon free homes to the wider use of boarding-homes adapted to the needs of individual children. But he was never a partisan of family-home care as against institutional care. His concern was always focused upon the quality of service, not upon the type of organization. For this reason he had a tremendous influence upon the development of good institutional care, as well as upon the improvement of family-home care for children. Perhaps the most far-reaching

expression of his neutrality with respect to type of agency and his concern that children should be cared for according to their individual needs is found in the proposal which he presented, in conjunction with his friend Prentice Murphy, to the 1930 White House conference, to the effect that the two forms of caring for dependent children should no longer be considered separate methods but two necessary parts of a whole, called "foster-care." The emphasis, of course, was placed upon "intake"; foster-care of any kind would be greatly reduced if proper use were made of community resources for preventing the need for removal of children from their own homes, determining later the kind of care required for each child who needs foster-care. It was recognized that group care might be more desirable for some children, while care in family homes was better adapted to the needs of others. Dr. Carstens did not live to see the day when there would be full acceptances of the implications of this change of terminology and philosophy. His continued influence would no doubt have hastened the fulfillment of the vision.

During his years with the Child Welfare League, he guided innumerable community child welfare surveys and studies of individual agencies and institutions. He selected the members of his survey staffs with great care and discrimination, and as the late Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor, who was associated with him in many such studies, said of him:

Those of us who had a part in making these studies with him know what a rich experience it was. As we look back upon it we can see how skillfully he encouraged initiative, and inspired each one to make an individual contribution. He did not permit the study to represent the thinking of one person but he made it rather a composite of the best that the entire group of workers on his staff could contribute.

Another associate, the writer, said: "A survey was not a job to be done and a report to be written; it was a crusade for a square deal for children." With a quick grasp of the significant findings of a study, Dr. Carstens, in collaboration with his staff, interpreted the

results in terms of their meaning to the life of the community and to the lives of children.

Sometimes the recommendations he presented seemed to fall flat against community indifference, conflict of personalities, and agency complexes, but the definite gains made in other places were a delight to his soul. Although he served communities and agencies throughout the country, he seemed to get more tangible results and more enjoyment from his activities in the southern states than in any other section. A case in point is his relationship to state child welfare work in Alabama. The Child Welfare League was asked to undertake studies in this state because there was a real desire to know what should be done for disadvantaged children and a sincere purpose to profit by his recommendations. With Mrs. L. B. Tunstall, who was at that time director of the Alabama State Child Welfare Department, which later developed into the State Department of Public Welfare, as with Dr. Carstens, there was no question of halfway measures or compromises; and it was because of the foundation which she had built in the state and her sincerity in putting into effect measures that seemed essential to the welfare of children, that Alabama became Dr. Carstens' "favorite child." As a result of the legal and administrative measures put into effect in that state following the league's survey in 1931, Alabama took a leading place among the states in most of its program for the social welfare of children, and its purpose to "keep on keeping on" has continued under the expanded department.

He not only believed in the development of public, as well as private, services for children, as has already been pointed out, but he was always firm in his conviction that "child welfare begins at home" and in the home community:

The first step in any child welfare program should be to make available to every family in which there are needy children such assistance as may be required to conserve the home.

Every child is first of all a member of the

community in which his family has legal residence. He is, therefore, entitled to such services as exist in his own particular community for the conservation of family life and for the care and supervision required when a child must be removed from his own home.

The quality of work with families has a very direct bearing on the demands for child care. . . .

The county was, he thought, in most states, the logical unit for public child welfare work. He was ahead of most of the thought of his time in holding that temporary emergencies which necessitated care of children away from their own homes should be dealt with by the public administrative agency and not by court action.

A dynamic force in all four of the White House conferences on children, he was a member of the 1909 Conference on Dependent Children; and in the 1919 Conference on Child Welfare Standards he worked especially on the statement with regard to standardization of children's laws, a subject which had long interested him. In 1929 he was appointed by President Hoover as chairman of the Section on Handicapped Children of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Four of the volumes issued by this conference were the result of the work of committees studying, under his general direction, the following subjects: state and local organizations for the handicapped, physically and mentally handicapped, socially handicapped, dependency and neglect, and delinquency. During his last year of life he served actively on committees preparing for the 1940 Conference on Children in a Democracy, and his death meant a severe loss to that body. He was a member of the United States delegation to the Fifth Pan-American Congress, which met in Havana, and he was active in behalf of the Non-sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children. His impending retirement from the Child Welfare League was announced at the June, 1939, annual meeting of the association, but his sudden death in July of that year ended his career of service to children. A memorial service of

music fittingly commemorated the life of this man who had gained so much inspiration and comfort from the noble strains of great composers.

XI. MARTHA P. FALCONER

(1862-1941)

FRIEND OF THE DELINQUENT GIRL

Martha Platt Falconer was born in Ohio and later lived in Kansas. She began her long career of social service as a volunteer in Chicago Commons, the settlement of which Graham Taylor was the head. Associated with Julia C. Lathrop in the pioneer work which led to the establishment of the Juvenile Court of Chicago, she became one of the first probation officers of the court. For some years she was connected with the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society. Mrs. Falconer was a delegate to the 1909 White House Conference on Dependent Children, and she addressed the conference on the subject of "child-placing":

I wish we might hear more about supervision here, and having a standard of placing children in family homes, and not feel that we have done our duty by a child when we have placed that child. . . . Let us talk, if we are going to talk about placing children in family homes, about the difficulties, and especially the difficulties of placing older children.

In 1906 Mrs. Falconer began the service of more than thirty years which made her known throughout the country and abroad as an authority on the training and protection of delinquent girls. In that year she took charge of the House of Refuge in Philadelphia, which was then a penal institution conducted according to old methods of correction. She instituted reforms in the old institution and later obtained a place in the suburbs and transferred the girls from the House of Refuge to a cottage-plan institution called "Sleighton Farms," built in accordance with her own ideas of healthful living and constructive training. Even in the old Refuge she had instituted the "family system," with a matron at the head of each group, and she placed much emphasis upon recreation and gymnastics and training in

various crafts. "A young leader of recreations," she said, "takes the place of the nervous, broken-down woman with jangling keys who, in former years, spent her time in keeping the girls quiet, until they were forced to some forbidden outlet for their natural love of fun." The attractive new institution in the country afforded a much better opportunity for the kind of training which Mrs. Falconer wished to give her girls.

Herself the mother of three children, Mrs. Falconer understood the needs of young people. In an address before the National Conference in 1908 she said:

It is not a surprising fact that the broken home is at the base of much delinquency, especially among girls. When a child is committed to the House of Refuge it can be shown in almost every case that she lacked wise guidance and control at an age when she craves amusement and will surely find it on the street if the home offers no attraction. This desire for pleasure is the natural development of the normal play instinct, which, as is coming to be recognized more and more, must be satisfied. The actual offense for which the girl is committed is therefore the inevitable result of a condition of physical and moral neglect, of a mind stunted by hard work, usually factory labor, lack of schooling and good home influences.

When a girl enters the school the unhappy past is never referred to; in fact is not known either by the workers or the girls with whom she associates. Her thoughts are persistently directed toward the future, and she is shown that the institution is really a school that will train and equip her for life.

Mrs. Falconer placed much emphasis upon the prevention of delinquency through measures which would safeguard the home. At one of the National Conference sessions in 1914 she said:

We must not alone be satisfied with working out schemes to compensate mothers in order to keep families together, but we must also in as many communities as possible work out plans for raising the standards of motherhood. It is important, not alone to pension the mothers, but to make it impossible for feeble-minded women to go out into the world and bear children. . . .

Mrs. Falconer was a woman with positive convictions and a personality and charm of manner which put her message "across" to the many state and local groups that she addressed and to the individual institutions that she advised with regard to their problems. As the years went on, she became more and more a national leader in work for delinquent girls. She had an intimate acquaintance with reformatory institutions throughout the country, but her interest was not confined to methods for the training of girls who had been committed to institutions. As has been indicated, she was concerned with all measures which might make such commitment unnecessary. She was an advocate of probation for both juveniles and adults, and she urged the establishment of psychological clinics and study of the mental characteristics of young people who were in danger of becoming delinquent or who needed retraining. She pointed out the need for laboratories of social hygiene, such as had been established by Dr. Katharine Bement Davis at the State Reformatory for Women at Bedford, New York.

Always a firm believer in the need for trained personnel, she had made Sleighton Farms virtually a training school for staff, as well as a school for the girls who were committed to her care. Young women recently out of college found the work under her direction challenging and fruitful, and many of the future leaders in work for delinquent girls were trained under Mrs. Falconer's guidance. She believed in young people and gave them positions of responsibility.

Patience and judgment and sympathy with young people do not always come with advancing years. Too often we find middle-aged women in these institutions or rescue homes, who have come to the time of life when they wish to move along the lines of least resistance, and to keep the place quiet and the girls orderly is often their chief end and ambition. This is not always a wholesome thing to do. It is much better to get some younger women who can enter into the life of young people and interpret life to them.

In 1915, when Mrs. Falconer was chairman of the National Conference Committee

on Social Hygiene, she dwelt upon the progress that had been made in this country in suppression of "the social evil," and mentioned especially the importance of such measures as the appointment of police-women; but she pointed out:

The woman's movement, in its deepest meaning, is the effort to purify society by giving women their true place in society. It is with the help of women that prostitution must be destroyed, because we recognize that its existence is a wrong and a disgrace to men as well as a wrong and a disgrace to women. It is not a sheltered, protected home life and an innocent girlhood for a few we desire to see, but the possibilities of a true home life for all. We must build our hopes, not on the innocence or ignorance, but on the moral strength, on the fine independence, on the real vision of the girl who knows the dangers that surround young life.

During the first World War Mrs. Falconer was director of a committee on delinquent girls under the federal Commission on Training Camp Activities, and she administered a large federal fund to develop plans for the care of girls and women who were flocking to the camps. The commission was concerned not only with the protection of the young men in the army camps but with the care of young prostitutes who came to, or were brought into, the camp areas. As a result of her work, Mrs. Falconer was invited to address schools and colleges in all parts of the country, and as a representative of the American Social Hygiene Association she addressed international conferences in Europe and visited reformatories for women and girls in England and on the Continent.

On her return from Europe she became executive secretary of the Federation Caring for Protestants in New York City, later called the "Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies." She resigned this position because of increasing years, but the demand for her services in behalf of delinquent girls and women was so great that she continued to act as consultant to correctional institutions, jails, and agencies concerned with the

prevention of delinquency and the constructive treatment of women offenders.

In reporting her death, the *Survey Monthly* said:

One of the great women of American social work died late last month at East Aurora, New York, where she had lived several quiet years in richly earned retirement.

It was Martha Falconer who demonstrated to a skeptical public the usefulness of decent humane treatment as a means of rehabilitating girls and women confined in penal institutions and restoring them to normal ways of life. Her philosophy and methods seem simple enough now that they are established practice in progressive institutions everywhere, but they were revolutionary in 1906 when she became superintendent of the grim old House of Refuge in the heart of Philadelphia. Not content with reforming the routines of the institution she presently reformed the institution itself, taking it from its city-bound confines to a country setting where outdoor work and life added their healing qualities to the process of moral and spiritual restoration.

It was truly said of her that all her life "she was fired with vision and supported by a militant and valiant spirit."

XII. DAVID C. ADIE (1888-1943)

ADMINISTRATOR OF STATE SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

David Craig Adie, who at the time of his death was commissioner of social welfare of New York State, was born in Hamilton, Scotland. He was educated in Edinburgh and came to the United States in 1913, after a short residence in Canada. He became identified with the cause of labor, having himself been in manual labor in several cities; and his inborn gift of vivid description made him an interpreter of the problems of workingmen and their families. Within a few years he became connected with the Americanization movement and later served as assistant secretary of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association. During the first World War he was appointed by the state of Minnesota to direct the reorganization of the employment serv-

ices of the state and was adviser to the Minnesota Public Safety Commission in relation to the recruiting and placement of labor in factories and the development of personnel relationships. He served the federal government in the office of the Secretary of War and became associate secretary of the War Labor Policies Board. For two years he was impartial chairman of the New York Men's and Boy's Clothing Industry. After this rich and varied experience in the field of labor relations, Mr. Adie entered social work in 1921 and was for eight years secretary of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society. Following this, he was secretary of the Buffalo Council of Social Agencies for three years.

In 1930 Governor Roosevelt appointed Mr. Adie a member of the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Public Service Law, and for some years Mr. Roosevelt, then President, asked him to arbitrate some labor strikes in western New York. He was appointed a member of the State Board of Social Welfare and, in July, 1932, became state commissioner of social welfare. During his years as head of the Department of Social Welfare, Commissioner Adie was as truly a pioneer as the men who stand out in the early history of public welfare in the United States; and policies and practices which he established have made an indelible impression upon the development of state and local services for children and families throughout the country as well as in his own state.

Commissioner Adie served on many state and national committees, and he was much in demand as a speaker on social questions and a lecturer on social work at colleges and universities. He served as vice-president of the American Association of Social Workers, and was chairman of the National Association of State Administrators. Locally, he was president of the Albany Council of Social Agencies and a member of the Executive Committee of the Albany County Mental Hygiene Society.

The principles of social work as affording the basis for good public welfare service

were upheld vigorously by Mr. Adie, and he was intense in stating his social philosophy and his hope for the ultimate achievement of the aims toward which a state department should work, slowly and patiently and unceasingly. He saw public welfare of this day as a venture into a new and untried field. In an address before the National Conference of Social Work in 1938 he said:

The establishment and maintenance of high standards of social work in public service is not to be achieved by wishful thinking. Neither is it possible to assume that the development of social work through the private agencies can provide us with a parallel in terms of form of organization, the development of staffs, or the philosophy which underlies our operation. In the very nature of the development of the private agencies, time was a factor which lay within the control of the administrator. . . . In the field of public service it is entirely different. The public welfare administrator of today benefits considerably from a wide experience in private social work. His understanding and acceptance of case-work processes will work heavily in his favor, but if he is to be successful, he must acquire new skills and a knowledge of new processes, and he must acquire them almost overnight.

He emphasized repeatedly that social workers in a public department must find the art of interpreting their job within the terms of the vocabulary of the elected local officials with whom they deal.

It becomes, then, the obligation of the administrator and his associates to go into the highways and byways. That time is never lost in which we purposefully direct the mind of a small group toward the reasonableness of social work in its modern sense. . . . The organization of public social work is like anything else. It calls for effort and more effort, physical as well as mental in its nature. I believe we will win public approval for our program in very much the same way as the representatives of the people are elected—by going to the place where the people are, talking to them in homely language, and stressing the human values as paramount in our concern.

In his own contacts throughout the state, Commissioner Adie exemplified his belief in the importance of contact with all types of

organizations which are "integral to the very life of the community"—"the church, the labor organizations, political organizations, and almost anything which gathers to itself a group of people who, while concentrating on a specific interest, find themselves considering the larger issues in life." He traveled widely throughout the area of his own state, "reaching out to all sorts of people in almost every community in the state"; and especially during the later years of his life the inspiration of his philosophy of public service was in great demand in many other states and communities of the nation and in Canada.

Perhaps the most important item of Commissioner Adie's articles of faith was his belief in the autonomy and responsibility of local units of government. The development of the system of state reimbursement to counties for relief and social service and its method of administration in New York State is tangible evidence of his plan for sharing with local communities the cost of public welfare measures which they have initiated with the help of the state because they understood their human values. David Adie was strong in his belief that the quality of service given by the state department or by local welfare departments depended upon the quality of the personnel of these departments, and he believed implicitly in the merit system of civil service. He took the greatest care to secure an able staff for the State Department of Social Welfare, and his associates in the department knew that they could depend on the Commissioner to stand behind and to assist them by interpreting their work to the local units, even though he sometimes felt that he must put a brake on too great enthusiasms for quick reforms. For the development of good service in local units, a system of "in-service training" for child welfare workers under his administration attained a high degree of success. "This in-service training," he said, "must not be of the observational or desultory type. It must be purposeful and in the direct line of social-work development. . . . Wherever schools exist capable of making a contribu-

tion, their facilities should be utilized; where such opportunities are nonexistent, we ourselves must develop specific courses, institutes, and training-on-the-job programs which keep us alive and enterprising."

For some years Mr. Adie was a member of the New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration; and, when the duties of this administration were transferred to the Department of Social Welfare, he maintained the high standards which had characterized the emergency relief agency and built them into the permanent structure of relief throughout the state. In a speech delivered at the annual meeting of the California Conference of Social Work in 1940 he said:

If the depression period had proved nothing else, it has demonstrated that the far-flung and comprehensive public program was effective primarily because the private agencies had produced workers capable of filling administrative supervisory, and visitorial staffs. Had not that been so, we would have had the major emphasis placed on commissaries and such methods instead of being able to develop our emergency services. These, be it noted, are rapidly taking permanent form and are merging with the former permanent public structure of our States and welfare units. . . . Not only have we extended the use of technical staffs, into which has been integrated a vast nontrained personnel, but we have developed in-service training, educational leaves, and new types of teaching in our Schools of Social Work. We have gone further and have developed systems and procedures based on the complete acceptance of the case-work principles and practices. Finally, we have implemented into this phase of government the unpaid board of representative citizens—again in line with our professional concept of community participation.

David Adie was an idealist, and he sometimes seemed to those whose feet were too firmly planted upon the ground of stark reality to be a sentimentalist. But his vision was fixed upon social justice, and he knew that these ends must be approached gradually and that they would eventually be attained. He was a realist who understood the slow and painful progress of social reform.

He often seemed to be an opportunist who took advantage of every rift of light in the dark clouds of opposition and retrenchment, but he refused to subscribe to panaceas or easy solutions of social ills. He faced the realities of financial impediments and lack of acceptance of the social aims to which he dedicated his department, and he accepted them as necessary stones in the path of progress, which must be removed by patient and understanding effort.

I want for our clients and for ourselves the same things: to the best of human endeavor and accomplishment we must be willing to grant the greatest possible degree of economic security; the greatest possible degree of physical and mental security in terms of education and culture; and, finally, spiritual security. To accomplish these ends man will have to journey over long trails and win new empires of living. Simply because they are not possible of attainment by fiat or the utterance of a formula in no way nullifies the possibility of attainment.

Commissioner Adie was an inspiring guide for his staff; he expected them to put their best efforts into their work for the state, and he was rewarded by a high order of loyalty and devotion to duty. His talks to his staff were provocative and challenging. In a speech to the child welfare workers of his department, he warned them not to expect county and town officials to accept rapidly methods of social work whose significance they do not understand.

We are writing a declaration of social independence in this Department; but we are never going to do it overnight. We are certainly not going to do it by ourselves. We are going to do it only in so far as we learn about communities and understand people and by being extraordinarily patient. . . . You have no right to exercise authority unduly. And when you have to call in the force of reimbursement, the force of closing an institution, the force of issuing an ultimatum, I caution you to remember your case work. You can't issue an ultimatum to a family,—not successfully,—and you will never use it successfully with a community.

He inspired his staff to feel that they were part of a great national and world movement:

You are in the middle now of the greatest revolution that man ever knew. The Industrial Revolution was a pygmy compared to this revolution. The revolution today is the revolt of the spirit—the revolution of government—the revolution in the very fundamentals of life. Our government is going to have a constructive view of humanity or it is going to go smash.

Through the accidents and designs of fate and his own indomitable will, David Adie's whole life was shaped toward the end of social service. He was a man of rare spiritual qualities, and he understood the needs of his fellow-men because their hardships and ambitions had been a part of his own life. He was an idealist who was granted the God-given opportunity of helping to bring some of his dreams of social justice nearer to realization. No one who had the privilege of sharing Mr. Adie's work in any measure could fail to be impressed by the gentle spirit and the abiding faith and patience which were welded with administrative ability of a high order. He was truly a great leader who strengthened the hands of his

staff in the performance of their tasks and put life and meaning into the service of the state to those who need its care and protection.

Mr. Adie's philosophy of social service was expressed in a statement which he prepared as president of the New York State Conference on Social Work, 1941-42:

We have turned from defense to war. . . . The American social worker has in his hands a significant share of the task of restoring to America, prepared and equipped for useful citizenship, great numbers of urgently needed men and women. But, above all, the social worker must continue and extend the philosophy and services that represent our internal defenses, the social reinforcements that underpin the stamina of our people. After all, it is the democratic processes behind these social services that we are fighting for—the guarantee that every American man, woman, and child will be assured the basic needs of life, freedom from want and fear. . . . This is the promise and performance of democracy.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIAL WELFARE DEVELOPMENTS ALONG THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

DONALD S. HOWARD

RECENT meetings of the U.N.R.R.A. Council in Washington and of the United Nations Assembly at Flushing Meadows have set the stage for significant changes in the social welfare structure of the world. Action of the United Nations in the welfare field may be grouped under five headings: (1) food and other emergency relief needed in 1947; (2) the creation of the International Children's Emergency Fund; (3) plans for the windup (or, as the British say, the "rundown") of the U.N.R.R.A. program; (4) steps to continue under United Nations auspices certain social welfare services previously rendered by U.N.R.R.A.; and (5) agreement upon the creation of the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.) for the care of refugees and displaced persons. Some of these changes represent unmistakable gains; others appear to be of somewhat less certain value; still others (such as the ninety-day deferral of U.N.R.R.A.'s untimely demise) represent only a delay of events moving in the wrong direction.

To certain skeptics, even some of the most publicized products of these international labors appear to be stillborn. To the less skeptical they seem, at least, to be viable, but, at best, not much more than blue babies, with only a fighting chance of survival. To the least skeptical and most hopeful, the new additions to the family of world welfare services seem to be lusty offspring already full of promise and hope of great achievements in the months and years to come.

However optimistic one might wish

to be regarding the future of these various measures, there are certain sobering realities that even the most hopeful internationalist cannot blink.

There is, first of all, the unwillingness of the United States State Department to continue truly international action with respect to 1947 food and relief needs not met through U.N.R.R.A. or other international agencies such as the World Bank. State Department intransigence in the matter was maintained even in the face of overwhelming majorities against it and manifested itself primarily in action regarding post-U.N.R.R.A. relief. However, the changed State Department attitude was also apparent during the U.N.R.R.A. Council's discussion of the completion of U.N.R.R.A.'s unfilled supply program.

A second sobering reality is the shaky financial foundation upon which all but one of the new welfare measures rest. Almost as bad as the financial uncertainties themselves are the delays that will inevitably be involved in carrying out even such fiscal arrangements as have been agreed upon.

Still another somber, inescapable fact is the deep-seated difference of opinion (principally between the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, and Poland, on the one hand, and, on the other, the United States and the United Kingdom) with respect to both present and future treatment of displaced persons and refugees. The Soviet bloc overlooks no opportunity to voice its dissatisfaction over the rate at which alleged collaborators, quislings, and

"common criminals" among displaced persons have been turned over to their governments for appropriate action. Criticism has often been directed, too, at the emphasis sometimes placed upon resettlement of displaced persons and refugees in new countries as opposed to returning them to their own countries.

What has appeared to the Soviet bloc to be a desirable degree of suppression of propaganda regarded as inimical to repatriation has seemed to the United States and the United Kingdom to be undue restriction of free speech. On the other hand, what has seemed to the United States and the United Kingdom to be a desirable recognition of the right of asylum has appeared to the Soviet bloc to be indefensible harboring of and aid to traitors and criminals.

Despite these deep cleavages in opinion, the basic conflicts regarding treatment to be accorded displaced persons and refugees were finally compromised sufficiently to permit agreement upon a constitution and budget for the proposed I.R.O. Notwithstanding the fact that only five governments voted against these proposals (although no fewer than eighteen abstained from voting), only time can tell the extent to which the compromises effected either may deter governments from participating in the work of the I.R.O. or may impede if not nullify its actions, if and when it comes into operation.

Yet another obstacle likely to hamper realization of recently laid welfare plans is the lack of a sufficient number of technically qualified personnel in key posts. As in the case of any new organization, those established by the United Nations have shown a tendency to build up their staffs even before the nature of their responsibilities becomes sufficiently clear to permit adequate knowledge of

the skills required. Similarly, the United Nations, like any organization covering a broad geographical area or representing different political units, finds itself under great pressure to employ on its staff representatives of the various co-operating governments. To American social workers this pressure is easily recognized as the extension, into the international field, of well-known pressures upon federal agencies to employ on their staffs representatives of the different states. However, the fact that an evil is a familiar one, appearing in an international rather than a national setting, does not make it any less an obstacle to efficient administration. Until such time as co-operating governments can supply technically competent social welfare workers who can make a real contribution to international welfare services, it is to be hoped that they do not insist upon proportionate representation on technical staffs. It is also to be hoped that governments institute appropriate recruiting practices so that when they are thus represented their nationals will possess the highest possible technical qualifications.

However, since the ultimate success of truly international services will depend upon a broadly representative international staff, the United Nations and all co-operating governments should do all in their power to promote training schemes to speed the day when countries which now have too few technically trained workers will have enough trained personnel not only for their own essential services at home but also to permit them to be creditably represented on the staffs of international social welfare organizations.

A further important factor militating against the employment of sufficient numbers of technically qualified personnel is the lack of agreement, at high lev-

els, that particular welfare skills are in fact essential to the functions to be administered.

While certain differences of opinion have divided various delegations to United Nations organizations, there has nevertheless been a heartening degree of agreement upon fundamental issues: first, that there are in the world urgent social welfare needs and, second, that the family of nations has an inescapable responsibility for doing something about these needs. To decide just what that something should be is the real question before the nations.

UNMET RELIEF NEEDS FOR 1947

One of the most important points of agreement among the United Nations is that certain countries in 1947 will still present urgent emergency relief needs which can be met only through imports they cannot finance and which cannot be supplied by the World Bank or other international instrumentalities.

A second fact that is generally conceded is that failure to provide the amount of relief needed might undo much of the good thus far realized through U.N.R.R.A.'s historic achievements. Expressing his agreement as to the urgency of the world's relief needs, the United States delegate, Adlai E. Stevenson, declared before the Assembly:

There is no question that . . . needs still exist, and that they cannot be met through existing international and national institutions. . . . The danger of economic retrogression which could nullify all the brave effort of the peoples of the devastated lands still confronts us. . . . These needs . . . will be very critical in some areas and must be met promptly. . . .

International action proposed by Mr. La Guardia (and approved by all but five or six of the United Nations concerned) was as follows:

1. There shall be established . . . a United Nations Emergency Food Fund to meet the food needs of countries in 1947 which are unable to finance their essential requirements.

2. All of the United Nations would be called upon to contribute to the Fund in money or in goods. The Fund should consist of supplies and money worth at least \$400,000,000. The Fund should also be composed of commodities which some of the countries having previously received U.N.R.R.A. aid will be in a position to contribute. The General Assembly shall establish the proportionate contribution to be made by each country, but no country shall be called upon to contribute more than 49 per cent of the Fund.

3. The Fund would be administered under operating policies determined by an executive board of governments to be nominated by the General Assembly. It would be the responsibility of the board to establish which countries are in need, the extent of their requirements, and the programs and allocations to be approved to meet those requirements. . . .

4. The small staff which would be required to implement the decisions of the executive board would be provided by the Secretariat of the United Nations. No new separate bureaucracy or agency and no separate field offices would be established.

5. All procurement, shipping, transportation and distribution would be the responsibility of the receiving governments, grants from the Fund being provided to such governments to meet the foreign exchange costs necessarily incurred. . . .

6. The activities of the Fund would be designed to deal with the food problem until the 1947 harvest, at which time the General Assembly of the United Nations can determine whether further action will be necessary during the winter of 1947-1948.

Vigorously defending this proposal, Mr. La Guardia firmly rejected independent action by donor nations acting either singly or in concert. He declared:

If it is open to one nation or group of nations to provide aid to any specific countries by predilection or choice, as well as freezing or ignoring any particular country which for the moment may not be in the good graces of the contributing country, it would destroy everything that has been accomplished to date by U.N.R.R.A. It would be diametrically opposed to the spirit of

U.N.R.R.A. and the fine principle under which it was conceived. It would place weak nations at the mercy of wealthy and big nations. It would do more than anything else that could possibly happen, to group nations to a point such as brought about World War II. . . . It would be degrading instead of inspiring. It would be selfish instead of generous. It is reminiscent of the old days of politics . . . in my town, when the poor in the district were given a basket of food on Christmas and during the winter a bag of coal or two. Along came election time and they were reminded of the generosity of the political boss, and taken in hordes to vote the ticket. . . . I hope none of us will be a part of establishing such a system in international relations.

. . . . I believe if the United Nations fails to achieve success in this, the most elementary form of co-operation—that is, relief—then it is idle to expect that effective co-operation can be achieved in the other international organizations. . . .

Although an overwhelming majority of the United Nations committee (Committee Two) considering this question clearly favored international as opposed to unilateral or bilateral action in relief measures, the United States and the United Kingdom remained adamant. According to the delegate of the United States, his government "could not conform to any decision of the Second Committee which provided that determination of the needs and assessment of contributions would not be voluntary." Similarly, the delegate of the United Kingdom declared that his government would continue to help meet world relief needs "even at the cost of serious sacrifices" but would do this only on condition that "the United Kingdom Government, and not an international organization, should exercise control."

While defending the right to independent action, the United States agreed to "full consultation with all other nations concerned" and suggested the

United Nations Secretariat as "a clearing-house" to help in co-ordinating the efforts of the different governments. In defense of the position of the United States it was urged that this would result in "fairer" and speedier assistance than would otherwise be possible. Under the United States plan, "log-rolling" would be avoided, it was said, and aid could be denied to countries which "build up large armies or use their plants and raw materials for tanks and weapons instead of using them to provide for the needs of the people."

Rightly or wrongly, newspaper reporters repeatedly referred to the intent of the United States to deny assistance to governments that had not evidenced due "appreciation" of aid already given. These reports again and again emphasized official United States dissatisfaction over U.N.R.R.A. shipments of United States supplies to Yugoslavia and Albania while political relations with these countries were far from satisfactory. It was even intimated officially that Congress might refuse altogether to appropriate further funds to be administered by an international agency but could be expected to contribute to a fund under the exclusive control of this government. In fact, promises had been made to Congress, by spokesmen for the administration, that no requests would be made in 1947 for relief funds to be administered by an international body. Conversely, the U.S.S.R. declared that it would contribute only on an international basis. Public opinion in America seemed to be divided on the issue of genuinely international, as opposed to more independent national, relief action. However, various social work groups (including the National Social Welfare Assembly and the American Association of

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Social Workers) took their stand unequivocally on the side of continued international action.

While debates as to what should be done about 1947's unmet needs were under way in New York, a bitter controversy broke out in the U.N.R.R.A. Council meeting in Washington during discussion of the completion of U.N.R.R.A.'s unfulfilled supply program. At the time, approximately 25 per cent of this program was still to be completed. In the case of China, the uncompleted portion was nearly half of its total program. The question, therefore, was what to do in case any considerable quantities of supplies still remained to be shipped to Europe after March or to

* Opposing the proposition to carry out the various country programs as planned, the United States representative on the Council pleaded for "flexibility." Leeway should be left, he maintained, for modifications—not unilaterally by the United States alone but by the Central Committee—in the light of more recent information than was available when the various country programs were framed some sixteen months previously. The United States delegation further suggested that modifications in the U.N.R.R.A. program should be effected in terms of "the real needs of people." This proposal raised particularly heated discussion because of a radio broadcast, only a few days previously, by Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, who clearly implied that a country which uses its manpower and resources for military purposes or which elects to "experiment as it chooses with its economic system even though doing so may play havoc with production" should not expect to receive gifts of food and supplies from other countries. Repeatedly, the State Department has seemed to suggest that the United States should send no further aid to such countries as Yugoslavia, Albania, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine. Although the formula suggested by Mr. Acheson would seem to preclude further aid to Greece and China also, the State Department pronouncements somehow do not appear to suggest denial of continued United States relief supplies to these countries. This fact inevitably raises the question as to whether the announced State Department policy might not need further clarification including specifications as to *which* armies may constitute evidence that a country is not in "real" need.

The issue regarding the completion of U.N.R.R.A.'s unfulfilled supply programs was final-

China after June, 1947—the new closing dates prescribed by the Council.

Director-General La Guardia (warmly supported by the Soviet bloc), who strongly urged total fulfilment of all programs as previously planned and approved by U.N.R.R.A.'s Central Committee, declared:

The purpose of making the Central Committee responsible for carrying out the mandate of this Council was to take from any nation the power to dole out in accordance with its own individual views rather than in accordance with the concerted conclusions of a deliberating committee composed of nine nations. . . . If there is any shifting from one country to another, there is bound to be the charge that there is discrimination, and that belief would linger for many, many years.'

ly resolved by the Council's declaration that the approved programs "shall not be altered by the Central Committee except when circumstances clearly warrant such action."

Among the circumstances which, in the opinion of the United States delegation, might require a modification of programs would be U.N.R.R.A.'s inability to use, in the agreed-upon manner, some part of this nation's contribution before such expiration dates as Congress might specify. In the words of one spokesman: "We have no desire not to see the funds expended. . . . So far as the United States is concerned, it will not propose the change of any of these programs for . . . any base political motives. . . . The programs of U.N.R.R.A. shall be kept flexible enough so that they can reflect any important changes that may occur in the needs of the various countries. I give again the undertaking that that will not be done frivolously; there will be no attempt to do that unilaterally."

The upshot of the "flexible" policy insisted upon by the United States was to divert, early in 1947, some \$25,000,000 previously earmarked for industrial and agricultural rehabilitation equipment and to spend it for food. Three important facts which critics of American relief policy quickly pounced upon were: (1) that the United States had food surpluses it wished to dispose of; (2) that this shift in expenditures meant giving more food to Austria and Italy—two countries which the critics had always felt the United States wished to favor; and (3) that the countries to be hardest hit by the cutback in industrial and agricultural equipment were likely to be Yugoslavia and perhaps others, which the critics, from the first, insisted the United States was reluctant to aid.

As for further relief that might be required in 1947, the United Nations Assembly urged donor nations voluntarily to supply this "when and where needed" (a phrase frequently repeated by Mr. La Guardia as the antithesis of politically granted relief) and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.²

As a compromise between the United States (which wanted only to consult "all governments concerned") and, on the other hand, governments which wanted a greater degree of international participation, the Assembly finally established a special Technical Committee consisting of ten experts in foreign trade and finance (to be designated by the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Poland, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States) to serve not as governmental representatives but in their personal capacities. The duties of the committee are:

1. To study the minimum import requirements of the basic essentials of life, particularly food and supplies for agricultural production of countries the Committee believes might require assistance in the prevention of suffering or of

² A special United Nations committee headed by Representative Sol Bloom of the United States has urged governments which were members of U.N.R.R.A. promptly to complete their urgently needed contributions to that organization. The committee has also urged U.N.R.R.A. membership upon Argentina, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria—the only United Nations members not members of U.N.R.R.A.

Further efforts to assure needed relief supplies in 1947 include a number of General Assembly actions urging all countries to carry out measures (found effective in meeting the critical food shortage in 1946 but subsequently jettisoned in large part by the United States) to maintain high extraction rates for grain, to restrict the use of bread grains for beverages and other nonessential purposes and for feeding to animals. The Assembly also urged increases in food production, safeguards against unwarranted increases in food prices, and provision of agricultural machinery to less developed areas, to name only a few of the recommendations made.

economic retrogression which threatens the supply of these basic essentials;

2. To survey the means available to each country concerned to finance such imports;

3. To report by January 15, 1947, on the amount of financial assistance required to the Secretary General, who will submit the report to Member governments.

Late in January, 1947, this committee reported that six countries alone (Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Yugoslavia) would require outside help amounting to some \$583,000,000 in order to provide the basic essentials of life in 1947. Further needs—in China and Korea, Albania and Ethiopia—were not appraised by the committee, which felt handicapped by insufficient information from these nations. China alone requested relief amounting to nearly \$295,000,000. Although Czechoslovakia, Finland, and the Philippine Republic indicated that they, too, would require outside assistance in 1947, the committee experts reported that their needs could be met in other ways. At about the same time that the committee of experts announced its estimates, the International Emergency Food Council underlined the urgency of the world's food needs by declaring that these were even more critical than earlier estimates had indicated, that emergency needs might well extend into the year 1948, and that countries which had not previously requested aid were expressing grave concern with regard to their food situation.

The Assembly further enjoined co-operating governments, as suggested by the United States, to inform the secretary-general of their relief plans so that he in turn may communicate them to other governments. The secretary-general is also directed to facilitate informal consultation among governments concerning their relief plans and, when necessary, to arrange such consultation.

Unfortunately, relief plans for 1947 rest upon an extremely shaky financial base. Contributions, unlike those which helped U.N.R.R.A. attain so notable a degree of success, are all to be voluntary. Solicitations are to be made from governments, voluntary organizations, and individuals. Ways and means of collecting and utilizing contributions from individuals, organizations, and peoples all over the world—equivalent to the earnings of one day's work—are to be considered by the secretary-general. Findings are to be reported to the member-governments and to the Economic and Social Council, which is authorized to take whatever action seems appropriate.

Almost as serious as the fiscal uncertainty upon which 1947 relief plans must be built is the delay that will necessarily be encountered in raising even such funds as may be forthcoming. It seems highly unlikely that the plan as finally drafted, largely at the insistence of the United States, can yield anything like the necessary amount of assistance by the time it will be most urgently needed—before the harvests of 1947. The degree of success which voluntary solicitation for world relief, under normal circumstances, might be expected to attain would appear to be seriously jeopardized by the competing—and probably more appealing—solicitations (described below) to be made for the International Children's Emergency Fund.

Inasmuch as the United States has had its way with respect to the financing of world relief in 1947, this government is now confronted with a special responsibility. The whole world will be watching to see how quickly and how effectively we act in accordance with our own plan. Under the circumstances the American people have a peculiar obligation to see

that Congress fulfils the hopes raised by the United States delegate when he told the United Nations Assembly: "We expect to be proud of our contribution to the residual relief needs of 1947."³

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND

One segment of the total welfare field singled out for special attention by the

³ Almost at the same moment that further international relief action was being emasculated in New York, representatives of the same governments meeting in the U.N.R.R.A. Council session in Washington seemed determined to out-do one another in paying tribute to the monumental achievements of the rapidly expiring U.N.R.R.A. The delegate of Poland recalled that "When the U.N.R.R.A. Charter was published in the time of war, hundreds of men and hundreds of women risked their lives to distribute this Charter, to let the people underground know that this organization had been developed and that it would come into operation upon the cessation of war. . . . The people who were fighting in the underground were strengthened by this message because they realized that they were fighting not only for the liberation of their country, but for the creation of a new world, a world of international solidarity, a world in which every nation has the right to have the help of all other nations in order that the wounds of war might be cured. . . ."

"In this last year [1946] we witnessed the great work of U.N.R.R.A. and the great help done by this organization. We would like to testify here how great an influence it was for the health of the people and for the health of our children, how important it was . . . for the future of our nation. . . ."

The representative of Czechoslovakia declared: "We shall never forget that we were receiving U.N.R.R.A. aid in the eastern part of our country while the western part was still under Nazi occupation, and while fighting was still going on there."

But it was the representative of the United Kingdom who made clear the magnitude of the program by pointing out that the seventeen million tons shipped to Europe alone within eighteen months was "nearly equal to the total imports of the receiving countries from all sources in the year preceding the war."

That international co-operation in relief measures, which had attained such eminent success as that realized by U.N.R.R.A., should have been reduced to the shadowy semblance of international action which the United Nations were compelled to accept in 1947, may well prove to be one of the great tragedies in the history of international social welfare enterprises.

United Nations Assembly is the relief and rehabilitation of children and youths. From the moment the suggestion to give special assistance to these groups was first advanced by Dr. Ludwik Rajchman of Poland, the proposal won widespread support. In fact, the popularity of this measure among representatives of other countries soon compelled key State Department officers (who at first were none too enthusiastic about the proposition) to abandon their preference for unilateral action and to pursue a more co-operative line.

About the need for further help to children and youth there has never been any question.⁴

To meet needs like these the United Nations have established an International

Children's Emergency Fund to be utilized, to the extent of available resources, for:

1. The benefit of children and adolescents of countries which were victims of aggression and in order to assist in their rehabilitation.
2. The benefit of children and adolescents of countries at present receiving assistance from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
3. Child health purposes generally giving high priority to the children of countries victims of aggression.

The scope of the program finally agreed upon represents a considerable broadening of that suggested in early drafts which applied only to children and youths of countries which were victims of aggression. This, obviously, would have precluded assistance to persecuted Jewish children in Germany or in other aggressor nations, to name only one group for which aid was widely urged. However, since the children "of countries victims of aggression" are given "high priority," the broadened scope may prove wholly illusory unless the Fund is given liberal financial support.

The Fund will consist of assets made available by U.N.R.R.A. and of any voluntary contributions made available by governments, voluntary agencies, individuals, or from other sources. Thus, the Fund will be looking to substantially the same sources of support as will the broader relief measures already described.

The executive board responsible for laying down policies, determining programs, and allocating funds, in accordance with principles to be prescribed by the Economic and Social Council and its

ment, medical supplies, clothing and shoes, to be covered by supplies from overseas.

"Finally, extensive facilities for training the necessary personnel are indispensable if national programmes are to be implemented."

⁴ At no time was any attempt made to minimize such conditions among children as were depicted by Mrs. Aase Lionaes of Norway, who served as rapporteur of the United Nations committee considering this question:

"The children of Europe and China were not only deprived of food for several cruel years but lived in a state of constant terror, witnesses of the massacre of civilians and of the horrors of scientific warfare, and exposed to the progressive lowering of standards of social conduct. The urgent problem facing the United Nations is how to ensure the survival of these children. . . . The hope of the world rests in the coming generation.

"The prime responsibility for the rising generation lies with the national governments and there is hardly one of them today for whom this is not a matter of the highest national interest. Their first pre-occupation is to ensure adequate food supplies. . . .

"War has destroyed numerous children's institutions and disrupted their services and technical management. In some cases the number of physicians and nurses has been reduced to one-half of the pre-war strength as a result of extermination by aggressors, by warfare, and the lack of training facilities. Under-nourishment and nutritional and social diseases are rampant among children and adolescents. Infant mortality has doubled or trebled in many areas. Millions of orphans are being cared for under the most deplorable conditions; crippled children in untold thousands are left with the scantiest care or no care at all. . . .

"As is the case with food, most of the equipment [for children's institutions] can come from domestic sources. But in all cases there is a deficit, of equip-

Social Commission, is composed of representatives of twenty-five governments, including the United States (represented by Miss Katharine Lenroot) and including also Argentina and Sweden, comparative newcomers in United Nations circles. Provision is made for the possible modification of the makeup of the board after the first three years of the Fund's existence.

Responsibility for administration of the Fund is vested in the executive director, Maurice Pate, a former aide of Herbert Hoover, who was appointed by

arrangement represents a compromise between those who wanted the Fund to spend none of its own resources for administrative purposes and, on the other hand, those who wanted the Fund to pay its own way. From the outset, the secretary-general desired that the staff of the Fund be "tied in" with the Secretariat.

Within a very few days of its creation, the executive board held its first meeting in New York, electing as chairman Dr. Rajchman, the Fund's chief proponent. The primary task confronting the board was the preparation of a report to the

TABLE 1
ESTIMATED COSTS OF SUPPLEMENTARY FEEDING PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN
UNDER SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE IN U.N.R.R.A.-RECEIVING COUNTRIES
IN EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN UNDER SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE TO BE AIDED (PER CENT)	TOTAL		EUROPE		FAR EAST	
	Children (Millions)	Cost (Million Dollars)	Children (Millions)	Cost (Million Dollars)	Children (Millions)	Cost (Million Dollars)
10.....	22.3	343.0	5.8	93.0	16.5	250.0
25.....	55.7	857.5	14.5	232.5	41.2	625.0
50.....	111.5	1,715.0	29.0	465.0	82.5	1,250.0

the secretary-general of the United Nations in consultation with the executive board of the Fund. Staff and facilities required for the administration of the Fund are to be provided to the board by the secretary-general of the United Nations. The Fund is also authorized to utilize such staff, equipment, and records as may be made available by U.N.R.R.A. during the remainder of its existence.

The Fund is not to be charged for staff and facilities provided by the United Nations so long as these can be provided from the established services of the Secretariat and within the limits of the United Nations budget. Additional administrative funds that may be necessary must be supplied by the Fund. This ar-

Social Commission (and, later, to the Economic and Social Council scheduled to meet in February) outlining a recommended program and an estimate of expenses, both matters being subject to the approval of the Council.⁵

Preliminary estimates of costs of supplementary feeding programs for varying proportions of the children (under sixteen years of age) of U.N.R.R.A.-receiving countries in Europe and the Far East are shown in Table 1. Thus it may be seen that the Fund may require anything from \$200,000,000 to perhaps five

⁵ According to the United Nations committee concerned with the program of the Children's Fund: "A desirable objective for each Government is to ensure one square meal a day to children that can easily be reached, i.e., those in schools and institu-

times that amount, depending upon the scope of the service undertaken.⁶

To date, the Fund has received only one substantial gift, one of \$550,000 forwarded by U.N.R.R.A. from funds which had been contributed by the people of the United States to the Famine Emergency Food Collection, Inc., headed by Henry Wallace.

One source from which considerable contributions to the Fund are expected is any unspent balance which U.N.R.R.A. may have when it ceases operation. Just how much may be expected from this quarter is somewhat uncertain in view of the fact that former Director-

tions and the children of families receiving social security assistance. A meal of 700 calories a day would cost \$20 per year per child. . . . Much of the food would come from home production, the proportion of the \$20 that must be imported from overseas sources varying, from country to country, from one-fiftieth to one-third, or one-half, or even more."

The extent of the aid likely to be requested is, at this writing, still unknown. It is known, however, that in seven European countries alone—to say nothing of China—supplies provided by U.N.R.R.A. have been used to provide one meal a day for some five million urban children. It is also known that requests submitted to the Fund to date by only two governments (Poland and Greece) total some \$60,000,000.

Earlier requests submitted to U.N.R.R.A. indicate that Austria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy, Poland, the Ukrainian S.S.R., and Yugoslavia alone wished to establish supplementary feeding programs to serve approximately eleven and a half million children—about 25 per cent of the total number of children under sixteen years of age in those countries. The cost of such a program was estimated at approximately \$200,000,000 annually.

⁶ Since the above was written, the Director of the Children's Fund has estimated that some \$450,000,000 will be required to aid approximately 20,000,000 children. Of this amount \$50,000,000 is for clothing, the remainder being for milk and other foods. Member-governments of countries which were victims of Axis aggression are expected to provide food, transportation, and other resources to a total of \$200,000,000. A like amount is expected from member-governments of countries that escaped aggression. The balance of \$50,000,000 is expected to come from voluntary contributions.

General La Guardia has repeatedly explained his failure to carry out a relief program in Korea (as directed by the U.N.R.R.A. Council) on the grounds that U.N.R.R.A. had no resources that were not already committed. Further question is raised by the lack of enthusiasm with which member-governments appeared to respond when U.N.R.R.A.'s 1947 administrative budget of \$9,500,000 was approved. Unless new contributions are received from governments to cover this budget, U.N.R.R.A., to keep going in 1947, may have to dip into such small reserves as are available, thus reducing still further any balances which might otherwise be left over for the Children's Fund.

Inasmuch as U.N.R.R.A. officials have insisted that it may be a year or more after the close of its operations before the final financial position of the organization can be known, there is likely to be considerable delay in transferring to the Children's Fund even what may ultimately become available from U.N.R.R.A. balances. Furthermore, as U.N.R.R.A.'s Director-General recently reported to newsmen, unspent operational (as opposed to administrative) funds would revert to the contributing country and could not be turned over to the Children's Fund by U.N.R.R.A. Nevertheless, at the first meeting of the executive board of the Children's Fund, U.N.R.R.A.'s general counsel reported that a further "very substantial" transfer of funds, in addition to the first \$550,000 already turned over, might be made.

Until necessary financial support is available, the Fund—like the United Nations general relief plans for 1947—must remain more a hope of future success than a firm assurance that the needs of children and youth may be speedily met. In addition to the inadequacy of

funds, administrative uncertainties are likely to result from the personnel and budget arrangements already described and from the reluctance expressed by certain governments to have any of the money they might contribute to the Fund spent for "administration"—a prime essential, if funds for actual service are not to be misspent or wasted.

The breadth of the responsibilities given to the Fund, which, in addition to feeding children and youths, may provide needed rehabilitation services (including assistance to child-care programs, children's institutions, and personnel-training schemes), will greatly enhance the Fund's constructive value—provided, of course, that the necessary funds are forthcoming. Also, the power of the Fund to embark upon an international grant-in-aid program for children and youths sets it off from certain other United Nations bodies (such as the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council) which are primarily advisory bodies. As one of the earliest organizations of its kind, the Fund can do much to explore the usefulness of this kind of agency in the international social welfare field.

TRANSFER TO THE UNITED NATIONS OF CERTAIN U.N.R.R.A. WELFARE FUNCTIONS

The transfer to the United Nations of advisory social welfare functions of U.N.R.R.A.—greatly to the surprise of many observers, no doubt—was heartily approved by the General Assembly, as by the other groups concerned with this action. What is more, these services rest upon a more secure financial foundation, probably, than do any of the other welfare services recently inaugurated under the aegis of the United Nations. These facts must come as something of a shock to that small but difficult group (in-

cluding certain spokesmen for the United States) which, at the time of U.N.R.R.A.'s inception back in 1943, as also in recent months, has contended that "social welfare" has no real place in the affairs of intergovernmental bodies.

Although meeting with general favor, the proposal to transfer U.N.R.R.A. welfare services to the United Nations did not wholly escape criticism. This was particularly true during the earlier stages of discussion before the relationship of this particular proposal to the fast-expiring U.N.R.R.A. and to other welfare measures, such as the Children's Fund under consideration at the same time, was clarified. In fact, at one stage of the discussion the representative of the Ukrainian S.S.R. declared that the transfer to the United Nations of various advisory functions of U.N.R.R.A. "served no useful purpose of any kind. The war devastated countries," he declared, "were in dire need of material aid. Approximately one million veterans in these countries were disabled and required artificial limbs. Millions of old people whose children had died in the war were without help today; they needed food, clothing and housing. Millions of orphans needed nurseries, educational services, and more food and clothing. . . . The proposal to extend advice was almost offensive: the devastated countries knew their own needs. They had no money and had lost most of their resources. It would be the task of the United Nations to raise money to come to the aid of those countries. . . . Advice without aid . . . meant merely empty words. . . ."

Somewhat similar views were also expressed by representatives of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, who paid high tribute to the welfare services rendered by U.N.R.R.A. but who also pointed out

that the value of these services was largely due to the fact that they embraced not only technical assistance but also material assistance.

The action finally taken by the Assembly was to authorize the secretary-general of the United Nations (in consultation with the Economic and Social Council and, where appropriate, in co-operation with the specialized agencies) to make provision for the continuance of "the urgent and important advisory functions in the field of social welfare carried on by U.N.R.R.A." For this purpose the secretary-general is authorized to include in the 1947 budget of the United Nations the funds necessary for the following functions, "all of which" were declared to be "necessary for the accomplishment of an effective program":

1. A requisite number of social welfare experts to provide such advisory services on request to governments which show the need for them and to put into practice over an appropriate period new technical methods in any branch of social welfare;
2. Enabling a requisite number of (suitably qualified) social welfare officials to observe and familiarize themselves with the experience of other countries administering social welfare programmes;
3. Providing advice, demonstration and instruction in connection with the manufacture of prosthetic appliances and the vocational training of physically handicapped persons and for furnishing the necessary demonstration equipment and tools;
4. The furnishing of technical publications helpful in the training of social welfare workers to the member countries which have been devastated during the war. . . .

The provision of the social welfare experts specified in section 1 above is to be by the secretary-general in agreement with the governments concerned, the selection of these specialists being made by the secretary-general on the basis of proposals from governments. The

amount of service to be furnished to the various governments is to be decided by the secretary-general subject to review by the Social Commission. The Social Commission is also requested to make recommendations regarding the continuance beyond 1947 of the essential activities of U.N.R.R.A. in the social welfare field.

The length of time the functions here described are likely to be carried on is, therefore, a matter the Social Commission and Assembly must decide. There is already some indication, however, that at least the delegation of the United Kingdom has contemplated a relatively short-term program. In the words of one representative:

U.N.R.R.A. welfare work was one of its greater achievements but it could not go on forever. The countries must ultimately train the welfare people themselves, but to cut it off at once would be a waste of an investment. . . . The work should be continued on a tapering off basis, though the United Nations should always have a small group of social experts, a dozen or so, working under the aegis of the Social Commission. . . .

The budget authorized by the Assembly for carrying out the proposed program is \$670,000. This amount is nearly \$225,000 less than the \$894,000 originally proposed. One important difference between the plan finally approved and that suggested in the first instance is that the latter contemplated a staff of some fifty specialists who would be readily available for consultation. Under the present scheme, however, it would appear that specialists are to be engaged only to meet the particular requests of governments.

That difficulties in maintaining high technical standards will be confronted in this as in other aspects of the United Nations program is evidenced by the em-

phasis placed, during debate, upon the importance of selecting the staff on a representative basis. The delegate of one Latin-American country, for example, declared that "the staff should be selected with a view to equitable geographical distribution. Latin American countries," he continued, "would show more interest in such international programmes if the number of Latin Americans among the staff would be increased."

How successful this program can be will, of course, depend upon the degree to which governments choose to request the services offered and upon the quality of the technical staff engaged.

PROVISIONS FOR REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

The long-standing and deep cleavage between the "Eastern" and "Western" nations relative to displaced persons has been repeatedly and painfully apparent in recent discussions both in U.N.R.R.A. and in other United Nations circles. Sharp differences of opinion have frequently become manifest with respect to (1) the rate at which alleged traitors, quislings, and collaborators among the refugees and displaced persons have been turned over to their own governments; (2) delays experienced in returning displaced persons to their own countries; and (3) the emphasis placed upon the possibilities of resettlement in other countries rather than upon repatriation.

Representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, the two governments primarily responsible for the care now provided for the displaced persons and refugees in Germany and Austria, fully admit that conditions in displaced-persons camps and centers are not what they should be. They deny, however, that unfair propaganda to dissuade

nationals from returning to their own countries is permitted, much less encouraged. They deny, too, that military or paramilitary organizations antagonistic to the eastern European governments are encouraged. In response to their critics the United States and the United Kingdom reply that the repeated criticism should be directed to the appropriate occupying authorities rather than to U.N.R.R.A. or United Nations bodies. While recognizing the danger of false propaganda that might retard the return of displaced persons to their own countries, United States and United Kingdom authorities are equally aware of the danger of undue suppression of free speech. Similarly, though conscious of the need to ferret out traitors and their ilk for suitable punishment, the Western nations are also concerned to see that fair hearings and trials are assured to all suspects.

On the question of resettlement, the Western powers agree that this should be used only as a last resort but insist that it should be available for persons whose security really would be threatened if they were to return to their countries of origin. In the opinion of the Eastern nations, the only persons who would refuse to return to their own countries—if they had "full access" to "all" the facts—are "common criminals" who are afraid of the punishment awaiting them.

If displaced persons who have been invited to return to their countries would only do so, there would be no significant resettlement problem, say the Eastern countries. Consequently, they ask, why should they be asked to co-operate in any large resettlement schemes? In reply, the Western democracies recall that the right of asylum is not dead; that persons who are (or believe themselves to be) in danger of persecution in their own

countries because of race, religion, or political activity should not be compelled to return to their former homes.

Reconciliation of the various points of view held by the governments concerned is not something that stays put. Issues apparently settled in some United Nations council, committee, or subcommittee meeting have a tendency to bob up again and again and to require further discussion each time they arise. The upshot of these various negotiations, for the moment at least, is that agreement (though not always unanimous) has been reached upon certain fundamental principles.

The first of these is that traitors and war criminals among displaced persons and refugees shall be speedily handed over for trial. The General Assembly has agreed that in the screening of possible war criminals high priority shall be given to persons or groups using duress in preventing refugees or displaced persons from expressing their desire to return to their homes.

Agreement has also been reached on the principle that the "main" task confronting the United Nations is the repatriation of those refugees and displaced persons who wish to return to their homes. However, the Assembly has also declared that no refugees or displaced persons other than war criminals, quislings, or traitors shall be compelled to return to their countries of origin if they have "finally and definitely, in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of the facts including adequate information from the governments of their countries of origin, expressed valid objections to [such return]." Bona fide refugees and displaced persons are, however, eligible for care at the hands of the United Nations even if they refuse repatriation, provided that they have

"valid objections" to their return and provided also that their decision is made "in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of the facts, including adequate information from the governments of their countries of nationality or former habitual residence."

The deep significance attached by various governments to these policy statements is amply evidenced by the care with which such terms as "valid objections" and "adequate information" are defined. In some instances the official texts even include synonyms in three languages (English, Russian, and French) to clarify meanings.

Otherwise eligible persons no longer qualify for United Nations assistance if they "unreasonably" refuse to accept proposals for their resettlement or repatriation or if they make "no substantial effort" to earn their own living when it is possible for them to do so.

Despite the overriding importance attached to repatriation, largely under pressure from the Eastern countries, policy approved by the General Assembly nevertheless prescribes (though again emphasizing repatriation) that under specified conditions "genuine refugees and displaced persons should be assisted by international action either to return to their countries of nationality or former habitual residence or to find new homes elsewhere."

While resettlement is thus approved in principle, the General Assembly has agreed that this should be contemplated "only in cases indicated clearly in the Constitution [of the International Refugee Organization]." The original form of this provision, as suggested by the Polish delegation, was even more restrictive and would have prescribed that resettlement should be contemplated only in "exceptional" cases indicated in the Constitu-

tion. At one stage of the discussion of this subject the U.S.S.R. sought (though unsuccessfully) to limit resettlement to persons "whose resettlement . . . does not meet with any objections on the part of the governments of their countries of origin."

Further action by the Assembly in support of resettlement was that urging each member of the United Nations "to give the most favourable consideration to receiving each into its territory at the earliest possible time, so far as may be practicable for permanent resettlement, its fair share of the non-repatriable persons who are the concern of the International Refugee Organization. . . ."

A further clause restricting proposed resettlement activities is a statement agreed to by the General Assembly to the effect that the I.R.O. in its "endeavour to carry out its functions in such a way as to avoid disturbing friendly relations between nations . . . should exercise special care in cases in which the re-establishment or resettlement of refugees or displaced persons might be contemplated either in countries contiguous to their respective countries of origin or in non-self-governing countries. The Organization," the General Assembly agreed, "should give due weight, among other factors, to any evidence of genuine apprehension and concern felt in regard to such plans, in the former case, by the country of origin of the persons involved, or, in the latter case, by the indigenous population of the non-self-governing country in question."

This language, clearly intended to discourage resettlement such as that of Jews in Palestine, or of Poles in any country, represented a compromise over even stronger language proposed by Egypt to the effect that resettlement could "in no case . . . run counter to

the freely expressed wishes and aspirations of the majority of the indigenous populations of non-self-governing regions or territories."

Still another body blow, which may well prove fatal to any real hope of large-scale resettlement, was the Assembly's approval of only a very small amount (\$5,000,000) for this purpose and its approval also of the principle that large-scale resettlement shall be financed through voluntary contributions only. The \$5,000,000 retained in the budget for resettlement, presumably as a goal for governments wishing to make voluntary contributions, represents a reduction of no less than \$55,000,000 below the figure first considered for this purpose.⁸

⁷ Further evidence of the intensity of the opposition to resettlement is apparent in another Egyptian proposal that the I.R.O. constitutional provision urging members of that agency to support the work of the organization should be qualified by the addition of highly restrictive language declaring that member governments undertake "to cease granting any assistance or facilities to any other public or private organization where the activities include repatriation, re-establishment or resettlement of refugees and displaced persons."

⁸ Even this modest provision was vigorously opposed. Poland, for example, maintained that it was "contrary to the spirit" of other actions. Failing in its proposal that all reference to large-scale resettlement should be deleted from the budget, the Byelorussian S.S.R. suggested that all resettlement be at the expense of the receiving countries. To this the representative of Brazil replied that the burden would be too great and, if the policy were adopted, would probably compel his government to resume its former immigration policy. The United States, too, opposed this proposition on the ground that it would mean that the refugee and displaced persons problem "would remain unsolved and would continue to be a danger to friendly relations among nations."

Very soon after the I.R.O. budget was approved, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (I.G.C.) met in London and proposed a budget of some nine million dollars for resettlement during the first half of 1947. However, the United Kingdom's declaration that it would no longer, as in the past, pay half of the I.G.C. operational budget seriously jeopardizes that organization's program. Instead of the fifty-fifty basis on which the United Kingdom and the United States previously support-

Wholly apart from financial considerations, there is increasing realization that the resettlement of any significant number of displaced persons in 1947 is very unlikely. What appeared to be bright prospects, particularly in Brazil several months ago, now appear likely to benefit only a very few thousand persons within the coming year. Sobering indeed is the recent declaration of a representative of Peru who, before a United Nations committee, declared that "representatives of the countries of reception in Latin America [have] declared that [they] did not intend to take advantage of the displaced persons as a source of mass resettlement." Even such countries as continue to express their willingness to receive refugees now find that instead of winning the appreciation of sister-nations they are charged with wanting to import and exploit cheap labor.

Nevertheless, resettlement plans have recently taken a new lease of life as a result of reports that Chile is interested in receiving 2,000 refugee families; that Belgium wants some 20,000 workers, particularly for mining areas; and that the Ministry of Labor and the Trade Union Congress in Great Britain have agreed in principle upon admitting as many as 500,000 displaced persons and refugees to relieve that hard-pressed country's serious manpower shortage. While these prospects provide new hope for resettlement, they can be realistically appraised only in the light of practical difficulties that will inevitably be encountered in finding acceptable candidates possessing the requisite skills and in assuring these

workers the necessary economic and civil protections.

To insure impartial and equitable application of agreed-upon principles and definitions, the General Assembly has declared that "some special system of semi-judicial machinery should be created, with appropriate constitution, procedure and terms of reference." The vagueness of this language, obviously, raises many questions as to how such machinery could be worked out in practice.

Membership in the I.R.O., the over-all organization authorized by the General Assembly to carry out the United Nations program for refugees and displaced persons, is open both to members of the United Nations and, under special circumstances, to "peace-loving States" not members of the United Nations.

Ultimate responsibility for policy of the I.R.O. is vested in a General Council in which each member-government shall have one representative and one vote. The Executive Committee of the Council, consisting of nine members elected by that body for terms of two years, is expected "normally" to meet twice a month. A proposal unsuccessfully advanced by Poland would have made it mandatory that the Executive Committee include "adequate representation of the Countries of origin of the refugees."

One of the important powers given the Executive Committee, "either as a body or through a delegation of its members" is to visit camps, hostels, or assembly points within the I.R.O.'s control and to "give instructions to the Director-General in consequence of the reports of such visits." This provision finally gave to the Eastern countries something they had long advocated but which had been voted down time and again in U.N.R.R.A. and other United Nations meetings—the

ed I.G.C. operations, these governments apparently desire jointly to contribute toward the I.G.C. budget only the same proportion they are now committed to pay toward the budget of the I.R.O., the amount of each government's contribution to the I.G.C. being determined by bilateral action.

right of a committee representing various governments to investigate directly the conditions among refugees and displaced persons receiving care from the United Nations.

That this matter of investigating displaced-persons centers is something that should work two ways was recently shown by a representative of France who declared that, although a mission from the U.S.S.R. had been allowed to visit prisoner of war and refugee camps in the French zones of Germany and Austria, the U.S.S.R. had not yet accorded to the French the opportunity of visiting camps in the zone occupied by the U.S.S.R.

The director-general, the chief administrative officer of the I.R.O., is to be appointed by the General Council, upon nomination by the Executive Committee, provided that body nominates a person acceptable to the Council.

The proposed constitution declares that the "paramount consideration" in the employment of personnel shall be "the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity." Adherence to the principles laid down in the I.R.O. constitution is also declared to be a consideration.

As a protection against a potential evil sometimes found in international organizations, the constitution declares that the staff shall "not seek or receive instruction from any Government or from any other authority external to the Organization." Conversely, the constitution declares that each member-government "undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities."

While prescribing these highly commendable personnel principles, the con-

stitution goes on to specify that "due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting staff on an appropriate geographical basis, and of employing an adequate number of persons from the countries of origin of the displaced persons." Difficult as this provision is likely to be—if technical qualifications are considered to be of prime importance—it is much milder than a number of other propositions which were turned down, as, for example, an amendment submitted by the U.S.S.R. to require that the "camp administration" should be chosen "in agreement with the governments of those countries whose citizens comprise the majority of the persons in the camp concerned." The purpose of this proposal, however, was not merely to secure geographical representation but was admittedly a device to "exclude from camps any propaganda against repatriation" and, therefore, yet another facet of that problem which has already been discussed.

The headquarters of the I.R.O. may be either in Paris or, thanks to a last-minute amendment proposed by the United Kingdom, in Geneva, as the Council shall decide.

The proposed budget of the I.R.O. is in three parts. One part, that for large-scale resettlement, has already been discussed. A second part is the administrative budget of \$4,800,000 to which member-governments agree to contribute in accordance with a prescribed scale which is identical with that for contributions to the 1947 budget and working capital fund of the United Nations. Under this scale contributions range from 0.04 per cent of the total in the case of seven countries to 39.89 per cent of the total for the United States. The operational budget of \$151,060,500 is also to be contributed by member-governments in ac-

cordance with an agreed-upon scale ranging from 0.02 per cent of the total for Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Iceland to between 2 and 5 per cent for Sweden, China, Canada, India, France, and the U.S.S.R.; 14.75 per cent for the United Kingdom; and 45.75 per cent for the United States.

Differences between these two scales of contributions are said to be caused by the fact that the contributions for operations, more than those for administration, are based upon capacity to pay and take into account such factors as the disabilities of the countries which suffered from invasion and the displacement of population and have already been to great expense to repatriate large numbers of their own nationals.

The fact that the Assembly committee considering this matter approved the scale of contributions to the operational budget by only a very narrow margin is interpreted even by the I.R.O.'s warmest friends as an evil augury of that organization's financial future.

A further factor complicating the I.R.O.'s financial position is the General Assembly's action permitting governments, under certain circumstances, to credit toward their contributions to the I.R.O. expenditures they might make (in agreement with the I.R.O.) to admit immigrants or refugees and to assist in resettling them. Inasmuch as expenses allocated to member-governments include nothing for large-scale resettlement, it would appear that any considerable credits of the kind described here might result in a corresponding deficit in the I.R.O.'s operational budget.

To permit countries lacking the necessary foreign exchange to take their part in the work of the I.R.O. they may—in agreement with that agency and despite

the United States' opposition to the principle—make their contributions in kind.

As the result of an amendment strongly urged by Canada (whose representative declared, in fact, that his country's accession to I.R.O. might be influenced by the action taken on his proposal), the I.R.O. constitution cannot come into force until it is signed by at least fifteen governments whose contributions come to 75 per cent of the total operational budget. At the present writing, only eight governments—Canada, the Dominican Republic, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Liberia, the Philippine Republic, and the United States—whose contributions represent only about 54 per cent of the total operational budget have signified their intent of becoming members of the I.R.O. The delay of the United Kingdom is particularly disturbing to those who would like to see the I.R.O. get under way quickly.

A further provision incorporated into the constitution, at the suggestion of the United States, would deprive a member of the I.R.O. Council of his vote if his government has failed to fulfil its financial obligations to the organization within a specified period. This unique provision, which was vigorously opposed by a number of countries (such as the Ukrainian S.S.R., which contended that it is "contrary to the spirit of international organizations"), may, however, be waived if, in the opinion of the General Council, the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the government concerned.

Expenses of repatriation "to the extent practicable," declared the General Assembly, "should be charged to Germany and Japan for persons displaced by these powers from countries occupied by them." This principle, apparently, would not mean meeting any of the budgeted

expenses of I.R.O. out of the economies of Germany and Japan, since these costs are said to represent only those for which "hard money" not available from these countries will be required. Transportation, food, or other necessities which Germany and Japan might be in a position to supply are, apparently, not included in the budget figures.

To assist in getting approved services for refugees and displaced persons under way with the least possible delay, the General Assembly has provided that when at least eight governments have signed the constitution these may constitute a Preparatory Commission to take all necessary and practicable steps to bring the I.R.O. into effective operation as soon as possible. The Preparatory Commission may also take over the functions, activities, assets, and personnel of existing organizations dealing with refugees and displaced persons if it is satisfied that this is essential to the orderly transfer of these functions to the I.R.O. The commission is made up of one representative of each signatory government. The heads of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, U.N.R.R.A., and the International Labour Organisation (or their representatives) are to sit with the commission in a consultative capacity.

The commission is authorized to appoint its own executive secretary. Expenses of the commission may be met from funds or assets transferred by existing organizations or from advances from governments making advance payments toward their contributions to the I.R.O. Delays normally required in securing governmental appropriations to intergovernmental bodies raise the serious question as to whether the Preparatory Commission can effectively do what is really required in time to avoid a dis-

astrous hiatus between the cessation of U.N.R.R.A.'s activities (now scheduled for June 30, 1947), and the inauguration of the proposed I.R.O. program.

Inasmuch as the I.R.O. constitution has already been signed by eight governments—the minimum required to bring the Preparatory Commission into operation—the secretary-general of the United Nations, who is responsible for calling the first session of the commission, has called its first meeting in Geneva. However, there is considerable doubt as to what can really be accomplished since, before the I.R.O. can come into operation, seven more countries contributing approximately 21 per cent of the operating budget must indicate their intention to join.

In view of the large number of governments which either voted against the I.R.O. constitution or abstained from voting and, in view, also, of the organization's uncertain financial future and of the number of governments which (like Australia and India) have frankly declared they do not intend to participate in the work of the I.R.O., the future of that organization would not appear to be too roseate. Even if it should come into being as expected, the organization will undoubtedly face a difficult career as it seeks to steer a satisfactory course among the many diverse (and often unsuccessfully resolved) viewpoints of the various governments concerned.

CONCLUSION

Further welfare questions which have recently been acted upon by the United Nations include the transfer to the United Nations Secretariat of the social welfare functions formerly carried on by the League of Nations, activities in the fields of housing and town-planning, aid for underdeveloped areas, and assistance to

devastated areas. Limitations of space do not, however, permit discussion of these actions.

However deeply American social work groups may deplore the United States' position on some of the issues which have recently arisen along the international welfare front, they are all genuinely proud of the many significant contributions made by Americans to these new worldwide programs. Noteworthy among those who have thus served both their nation and the world are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who, as the American delegate on several United Nations committees concerned with welfare matters, gave untiring and courageous leadership and Mr. Arthur Altmeyer, who, as this nation's representative on the Social Commission, has also worked tirelessly and imaginatively. Still others who have rendered yeoman service in consultative and advisory capacities include Mr. Otis E. Mulliken, Miss Alice Shaffer, and John Charnow, of the Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs of the State Department, and Mrs. Ellen Woodward, Miss Katharine Lenroot, and Miss Jane Hoey, of the Federal Se-

curity Agency. To them, as to others from our own country, and to many representatives of other countries is attributable the recent progress toward the solution of social welfare problems which are now frankly admitted to be the concern of the entire family of nations.

Progress made thus far has often been won despite apparently insuperable obstacles and differences—differences in concepts as to what is meant by social welfare, in resources from which to support international social welfare services, in political, social, and economic ideals. Yet, differences have been resolved. Obstacles—many of which are attributable to inexperience in dealing with social welfare problems on an international basis—have been overcome. The noteworthy gains already realized give promise of still greater future achievement. The United Nations are well on their way toward realization of “the well-being of all the people of the world” which, in the words of their charter, “is essential to the development and maintenance of world stability and peace.”

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

CHILD LABOR AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN THE FIRST YEAR OF PEACE¹

BEATRICE McCONNELL

THE year since the close of the war, no less than the war years, has been a time of crisis. Then, as during the national defense period and the war that followed, the Children's Bureau, through its Industrial Division, took leadership in directing the attention of the country to the needs of children and young persons in the field of child labor and educational opportunity. The Division's functions of research, child labor law administration, and development and promotion of good child labor standards, which for five years had been geared to the problems that war demands for labor and other war exigencies had created, were shifted to those growing out of the reconversion from war to peace. Although, technically speaking, industrial reconversion was nearly completed during the past year, the changes that affect the education and employment of young people are still going on

¹ This article is based chiefly on the annual report of the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor for the year ended June 30, 1946. On July 16, 1946, under the President's Reorganization Plan No. 2, the Children's Bureau, with the exception of the Industrial Division, was transferred to the Federal Security Agency. The Industrial Division, with its full program of research, development and promotion of child labor standards, and administration of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, remained in the Labor Department, and by order of the Secretary the Division has been made the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of the Division of Labor Standards of the Department. Miss McConnell, who has been director of the Industrial Division since 1935, is now assistant director of the Division of Labor Standards, in charge of the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch.

and will continue for an indefinite period. The situations affecting the employment of boys and girls with which the Division has to deal are not yet stabilized, and the need for added services in this field is as pressing now as it was during the war.

The trend toward less child labor and a longer period of school attendance that had marked the decades of the 1920's and 1930's was sharply reversed during the war. After V-J Day, the industrial and economic picture, and with it the picture of child labor and youth employment, again changed. There was a falling-off in the demand for young workers, but there was evidence that the level of youth employment was still far higher than before the war, and that the difficulties in the way of upholding good child labor standards remained practically as great as during the war.

During the war years the great increase in the number of children and young people at work, the pressure on the schools as a source of labor supply, the lowering of legislative standards, the history of mounting industrial accidents and child labor law violations, called for leadership both in planning for the wisest contribution of children and youth to industry, commerce, and agriculture so as to safeguard their welfare and in bringing these plans to fruition throughout the country. War needs had dictated that new and acute labor demands be met. At the same time, there was equal need for a farsighted policy for the young people, for whose future the war was

being fought, which would demand that their educational progress be safeguarded and that measures be developed to guide and protect the young workers drawn into the labor force. The responsibility of the Children's Bureau, through its Industrial Division, to give leadership in these matters was clear. All the means at its command were used to meet these problems as they arose. These means included promotion of nation-wide guides, indorsed by federal and state agencies and private groups, for employment of children in industry, commerce, and agriculture; development and promotion of voluntary safety measures in the use of boys and girls sixteen and seventeen years of age in war industries; the obtaining and spreading of knowledge as to extent and conditions of employment of young persons; go-to-school drives; and encouragement and support of state and community planning to meet the new and increasing problems. In its function of administration of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Division's wartime job was to continue and to strengthen its nation-wide program of enforcement of the basic sixteen-year minimum age for general employment and the eighteen-year standard for hazardous occupations, so as to give help and stimulation to state child labor law programs and thus to make both federal and state legislation more effective than either could be alone. At the same time, particularly as the end of the war appeared to be coming closer, it seemed especially important to gain information and understanding of the problems created by the expanded employment of young workers that would enable the Division most effectively to gear its program into the transition and postwar period. Its encouragement of the mobilization of the public interest in

child labor, that had sharpened during the war years when the employment of young workers had risen so markedly, toward the attainment of a basic sixteen-year minimum in state law; its participation in the work of the federal Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education; and the continuation of its collection of current data on child labor and youth employment—these are some of the avenues through which it worked during the war years to meet the postwar needs of young people.

During the first year of peace the Division built on this foundation. It has given staff assistance to the Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education in its consideration of programs to meet postwar needs; it has collected information on youth employment trends, including practices in school-and-work programs; it has developed its consultative services to organizations and communities in various aspects of youth employment needs; it has continued its programs for industrial safety of young workers, for promotion of the welfare of young workers in agriculture, including particularly the children of migratory agricultural laborers, and for improvement in state child labor legislative standards and law administration. And, finally, it has brought to bear on its function of administration of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act the results of all these activities and in these and other ways has strengthened its program of protecting young workers in interstate industries.

FACTS ABOUT EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Number of children and young persons employed.—The basic sources of information on the number of employed minors are the decennial censuses, the latest

taken in 1940, and the census sample surveys that have been made since that time by the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce. In the spring of 1940, according to the census of that year, the total number of young persons fourteen through nineteen years of age at work full time or part time was 2,681,000; in April, 1945, 6,300,000 persons in this age group were either at work or in the armed forces. Among the younger persons in this group, that is, those fourteen through seventeen years of age, $3\frac{1}{2}$ million were at work in April, 1945, a school month, and many thousands more were working at the summer peak of that year. Of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ million at work in April, one half were believed to be working full time and not attending school; the other half, working in addition to going to school.

By April, 1946, the number of working minors fourteen through seventeen years of age had dropped to about $2\frac{1}{4}$ million, but even this total was more than twice as many as were working in the early spring of 1940. Of those working in April, 1946, about $\frac{3}{4}$ million were fourteen or fifteen years of age—16 per cent of the population of these ages; and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million were sixteen or seventeen years of age—33 per cent of the population of these ages.

Many thousands of children under fourteen years were also at work in both 1945 and 1946, although there is no official estimate of their number.

A measure of employment of boys and girls fourteen through seventeen years of age in occupations for which employment certificates are required—in general for legal employment, excluding agriculture and domestic service—is found in reports of employment certificates issued in states and cities throughout the United

States. These reports show the number entering employment, in contradistinction to those actually at work at any given time. Reports are not received from all areas, but, for those for which reports were received each year, the number rose from around 170,000 in 1940 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ million in 1944 and dropped to slightly more than 1 million in 1945. The 1945 total was still six times the number reported for 1940.

During the later war years the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children going to work, as measured by these certificate figures, though numerically fewer than the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds, had increased proportionately faster than the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds. In 1940, 35,000 in round numbers, or 20 per cent of those going to work, were fourteen or fifteen years of age; in 1944, the younger children numbered 333,000, or 27 per cent of the whole group; and in 1945, of the 1,031,000 obtaining certificates for full-time or part-time work, 270,000, or 26 per cent, were fourteen or fifteen years of age.

Reports for the first six months of 1946 indicate a continuing drop in the number of new entrants into employment as compared with the corresponding months in the previous year—a total drop of about 47 per cent. In areas for which reports for both periods have been received, 633,000 boys and girls of fourteen through seventeen years, in round numbers, went to work in the first six months of 1945, as compared with 342,000 in the first six months of 1946.

It may be significant that reports for September and October, 1946, indicate that in some places more boys and girls of fourteen through seventeen years were entering employment than in the same period of 1945 and that this increase showed up in the fourteen- and fifteen-

year age group as well as in the sixteen- and seventeen-year group.

General information from various sources indicates that while the war-time "easy-come, easy-go" job situation for young people is a thing of the past, no serious general unemployment situation has developed. Many boys of eighteen are enlisting or being drafted into the armed services, thus keeping at a lower level the number of boys in the labor market and lessening their opportunities for getting jobs during the six months or so before becoming eighteen. The demand for girls in sales, service, and some industrial occupations apparently remains good, and in many places there is still a shortage of skilled clerical workers.

Nevertheless, for many young people desirable job openings are infrequent. There has been a considerable decline in part-time and vacation work. Some manufacturing establishments have set a minimum age for hiring at eighteen or even higher. In many places there is a strong tendency for employers to tighten their job requirements, frequently demanding experience or preferring adults for jobs in which they were willing to take inexperienced young persons during the war. They are also tending to expect more in the way of training, education, and personal qualifications than they did during the war, while, at the same time, they are offering less in wages, job security, and promise of advancement. Young veterans also are likely to have preference for the better jobs, and the high-school diploma is regaining its pre-war position as a job qualification.

These changing employment situations for young people make it more important than ever that all those interested in the future of our young people be aware of the kinds of jobs that are open to youth and of possible trends to-

ward lower wages and poorer working conditions. They also point up the fact that loss of educational opportunity during the war, when many boys and girls left school to go to work, now constitutes a handicap to their future and that unless measures are developed to enable them to recoup lost education and to direct them intelligently toward available vocational opportunities, they are likely to find themselves facing an even more serious competitive disadvantage as time goes on.

School-and-work programs.—The release of high-school students for work at part-time jobs during school hours was frequently resorted to during the war years when labor was scarce. The serious implications of this practice became evident with the increase in its extent. It necessarily cuts short the school time of the young person and often runs counter to state and federal child labor standards. As war needs disappeared, it seemed especially important that facts be made available on a large enough scale to make possible a constructive appraisal of these programs. The Industrial Division therefore planned with the United States Office of Education a joint study of part-time school-work projects throughout the country. The report of this study, based on answers to questionnaires from 133 cities and towns in 37 states and on personal visits to 12 localities, should provide much valuable information on this development.

The whole question of school-and-work programs is one that involves many considerations as to the values of education for young people and the ages at which employment experience is desirable. It was the pressure of need for labor that stimulated the growth of these programs during the war. If they should become widespread under a peacetime

economy they will require continuing examination and evaluation to insure that they are so organized as to promote the best interests of the children concerned and that they do not militate against satisfaction of the broad educational needs of the child, which is the underlying purpose of child labor legislation and the movement for higher legislative standards.

State child labor legislation.—During the war strong pressures developed to relax child labor and compulsory school-attendance standards. These were successful to some extent, particularly with respect to hours of labor, night-work prohibitions, and release from school to work in agriculture; and, in some instances, the relaxations touched standards of work in particular kinds of employment, such as work in bowling alleys. However, in general, these relaxations did not affect the basic minimum ages for employment. Although there were backward steps, there was also a genuine realization of the need for conserving employment safeguards for young people, and in spite of war pressures some states were able to make advances.

In 1946 only eleven state legislatures met in regular session. In five of these states and in Puerto Rico legislation was enacted affecting child workers. The most outstanding improvement was the new Georgia child labor law, effective July 1, 1946, which establishes a basic sixteen-year minimum age. It also provides for a maximum eight-hour day and forty-hour week for children under sixteen, limits hours during which children may work in street trades, and raises other child labor standards. A New York law, which should result in improved conditions for migrant workers and their children, provides that persons responsible for bringing into the state ten or more

migrant farm or food-processing workers must submit to the Industrial Commissioner, in advance, facts on wages, housing, and working conditions. Louisiana, New York, Virginia, and Puerto Rico amended their laws relating to street trades, and Massachusetts established a maximum four-hour day and twenty-four-hour week for children under fourteen employed on farms, with the exception of children related to the owner or operator of the farm.

The legislative picture in 1946 compared with that of 1941, before the United States entered the war, shows a number of advances. Two states and Puerto Rico have been added to the states with a basic sixteen-year minimum age, making a total of sixteen states with this standard. Illinois has enacted a law setting a sixteen-year minimum, with certain exemptions, to become effective six months after the official ending of the war; two more states have established a maximum forty-hour week for children under sixteen, and four states have raised their upper compulsory school-attendance age to sixteen. Also, many of the wartime relaxations under state laws have been withdrawn by either legislative or administrative action.

PROTECTION OF CHILD WORKERS UNDER THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

During the war the basic sixteen-year minimum age for employment under the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, with an eighteen-year minimum in certain hazardous occupations, applying to establishments producing goods for interstate or foreign commerce, was a powerful influence in preventing widespread employment of young children in industrial plants. It is an indication of the progress that has been made in this country in the recognition of the importance

of good child labor standards that, in spite of labor shortages, there was no frontal attack on these standards during the war. Some relaxations of the federal minimum age provision were pressed for. A few were made permitting employment of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children in specified nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations, under carefully safeguarded conditions; and minor modifications were made in two hazardous occupations orders, permitting minors of sixteen and seventeen years to perform a few of the less hazardous jobs. These relaxations were withdrawn shortly after V-J Day, with the exception of the modification of the hazardous occupations order applying to logging operations, which is now being revised, extended, and reissued.

What the inspectors find.—After eight years of administration of the child labor provisions of the act practically all employers are aware of them, and the large majority are willing to comply with them. No restrictive law, however, continues to be obeyed without the support of vigilant inspection. Inspections for compliance^a during the year ending June 30, 1946, showed problems of administration of these child labor provisions to be practically as great as in the period of peak war production. During the year, child labor inspections, represented by cases closed, were made in all forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. In all there were 3,478 cases, as compared with 4,747 in the fiscal year 1945 and 4,951 in 1944. But although the total of minors found il-

legally employed in 1946 was less than the number found in 1945 (9,538, as compared with 13,289), they numbered a thousand more than those (8,436) found in the war year 1944. Moreover, although there was a decrease in the proportion of establishments inspected that were found to be employing minors, there were proportionately more children found employed without certificates, more children illegally employed compared to the total employed, and more children under fourteen compared to the total minors of all ages illegally employed.

These child labor violations were not confined to any particular areas or industries but were found in all forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, and in every major industry group. The food and kindred products industry showed the greatest number of establishments in violation (472, or 19 per cent of the total) and the largest proportion of minors illegally employed (3,010, or 32 per cent of the total). Other industries in which more than 500 minors were found employed in violation were: printing, publishing, and allied products; iron, steel, and their products; lumber and timber basic products; furniture and other finished lumber products; and wholesale trade.

Seriousness of violations.—Some of the illegally employed children were very young. Seven per cent (626) were under fourteen years of age, 112 of them under twelve years of age, 29 under ten years of age, and the youngest only six years old. More than half the minors under twelve were found in the food and kindred products industry.

Many of the minors were engaged in occupations which had been declared hazardous and therefore prohibited for minors under eighteen. A total of 1,303 minors were found so employed—1,056

^a These inspections were made chiefly by the inspectors of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the Department of Labor under plans of administration developed between the Children's Bureau and the Wage and Hour Division. A few were made by the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau.

who were sixteen and seventeen years of age, 225 who were fourteen and fifteen years of age, and 22 who were under fourteen years of age. Of the 22 under fourteen years of age, 17 were thirteen years old, 4 were twelve, and 1 was only eleven. Minors were found employed in violation of all the hazardous occupations orders except the one applying to exposure to radioactive substances. The largest numbers were employed as motor-vehicle drivers or helpers, in prohibited logging or sawmilling operations, and in the operation or maintenance of power-driven woodworking machines.

The following examples are illustrative of child labor conditions found in the course of inspections of establishments where children were found employed illegally:

In a vegetable-packing shed, approximately half of the 35 workers were under sixteen; 14 of them under fourteen years of age; 6, not yet twelve years old; and 3, only eight or nine.

In a large feed mill, children of fourteen and fifteen were working sixteen hours a day and seventy-three hours a week, or until 11:30 at night.

In a factory planing and resawing rough lumber, 7 children under sixteen were employed, 4 of them when only thirteen years old. One of the thirteen-year-olds was feeding the power-driven wood-planer. They were employed on the afternoon shift and often worked until 9:00 and sometimes until 11:30 P.M.

Children nine years old were employed in a raw-shrimp packing establishment; eleven- and twelve-year-olds in canneries, some unloading baskets of tomatoes and loading canned goods onto trucks; some working until 12 o'clock at night; some fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds stacking canned goods for fourteen hours a day; and some eleven- to fifteen-year-olds, with hours starting at 2:00 or 4:00 A.M., continuing until midmorning, and again on the same day from 4:00 or 4:30 until late evening.

Children of fourteen and fifteen years were working on ice delivery trucks; twelve-, thirteen-, and fourteen-year-old children, in a meat-packing plant, worked sometimes fifty-six hours a week in the gutting-room.

Children fourteen and fifteen years old were operating electric drills and saws; children thirteen to fifteen years old were employed by a broom manufacturing company for ten hours a day and sixty-two hours a week; a sixteen-year-old girl was operating a dado saw.

Children thirteen to fifteen years old were working in a fresh fruit and vegetable establishment for as long as sixty-five hours a week; children under sixteen in a plant manufacturing army tents were working from 4:00 P.M. to 12:30 at night; and children of fourteen or fifteen, or younger, were employed to box pies and load them on trucks, working from 6:00 P.M. to 10:00, 11:00, or 12:00 at night, or even until 3:00 A.M. or all night.

A disturbing development is an apparent increase of child labor in industrial homework. A recent inspection disclosed children ranging from seven to thirteen years of age working on industrial homework in the manufacture of toys. Another inspection disclosed children from ten to fifteen years of age working in the manufacture of fish lures and flies, and still another showed children ranging in age from five to fifteen at work carding and packing tacks used for numbering screens.

One of the serious aspects of many of the child labor violations is the fact that employers knew that they were violating the law and were nevertheless continuing to violate after repeated inspections and warnings. Children were employed without being asked their ages, or even after admitting that they were under the legal age; records were falsified or the children were not recorded on the pay roll at all; when an inspector came children were told to go home and not to come back; employers who denied knowledge of the law, when faced with evidence to the contrary, shifted responsibility for enforcement to subordinates, who in turn denied that they had received instructions. While these situations do not reflect the attitude of employers in general,

the number of instances of such wilful violation, coupled with many others of complete indifference to the law, is sufficiently large to show the need for redoubled vigilance in discovering violations and in taking appropriate action against the violating employers, as well as in developing so strong a public opinion in favor of these protective standards that violations will not be tolerated.

Cases before the courts.—In enforcement of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the educational approach is stressed in every possible way. In the early days of the law's administration, the claim often advanced by employers that they did not know that they were affected had some color of justification. However, after the passage of several years, during which employers have had every means of knowing the terms of the law, recourse to legal action has become necessary in an increasingly large number of cases in order to insure compliance. Where violations are found after repeated inspections, a criminal prosecution often appears to be the only way to convince the employer that he cannot flout the federal law with impunity. During the year ending June 30, 1946, the number of cases closed by criminal action was more than double the number closed by such action in the year ending June 30, 1945—72 compared to 31.

Convictions were obtained in 70 of these 72 criminal actions. About half were taken against firms engaged in the food and kindred products industries and the apparel and other finished-fabric products industries. In many cases, substantial fines were imposed, one amounting to \$25,000, though in another case the fine was as little as \$25. In several cases both the corporations and the individuals responsible for the employment of the underage minors were fined. The

\$25,000 fine was imposed on a mail-order house that had first been inspected in 1942 and was found on reinvestigation to have employed 106 children under sixteen years of age contrary to the child labor provisions of the act.

Criminal prosecution is one of the two methods of legal procedure provided by the act in cases of violation. The second is a civil suit for an injunction. Fifty-five civil suits were brought during the year, covering seventy establishments; injunctions were granted in fifty-four cases, and the remaining case was withdrawn. A large proportion of the injunctions were granted on consent decrees, but in thirteen cases the employer contested the case. In two of these, injunctions were denied by the lower court but were granted on appeal. These two cases were based on flagrant violations found in two vegetable-packing sheds. When the injunctions were first requested, the district court judge refused to grant them on the ground of the general standing and reputation of the defendants as substantial, outstanding citizens. The judge took this position in spite of the fact that the defendants had continued to violate the child labor provisions of the act after repeated warnings. The cases were appealed to the fifth circuit of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, which reversed the decision of the lower court and said:

That the Chief of the Children's Bureau exhibited patience and forbearance in dealing with defendants and resorted to court action only after her efforts failed to obtain compliance, may not be denied. . . . The act places the responsibility for its administration on the courts as well as on the Children's Bureau. The courts should not treat lightly this responsibility. Congress passed the child-labor section of the Fair Labor Standards Act in the interest and the welfare of the children of the country. The courts are charged, therefore, with the duty to enforce the national policy.

While a criminal prosecution is the more drastic remedy to be sought in the courts, a civil suit for injunction has the advantage that if the employer later violates the law he is in contempt and can be brought before the court on this ground. One case of this kind was brought against a New Jersey manufacturer of children's outerwear, who had signed a consent decree in 1941 to comply with the child labor provisions of the act but who was continuing to employ minors under sixteen years of age, contrary to the injunction, as late as 1945. Another was the case of a lumber operator in Georgia, who had signed a consent decree in 1944 restraining him from future violations, after illegally employed minors had been found in his establishment on a third inspection. When his plant was inspected for the fourth time, two children under fourteen were found working as off-bearers from a saw and a twelve-year-old was found working as a water boy at the sawmill. In both these cases the employers were found guilty and fined.

The application of the child labor provisions of the federal act to children in industrialized agriculture is very limited, because they apply to this very numerous group of child workers only during the period when the law of the child's own state requires him to attend school. Because of the many loopholes in most state school-attendance laws and because of differences of administrative interpretation, it is difficult to determine whether the child's employment in agriculture is or is not illegal. For this reason few legal actions under the federal act have been brought for illegal employment of children in agricultural employment. However, two significant civil cases are now pending that deal with illegal employment of children on Arizona

cotton ranches during hours when the children were required by state law to be in school.

Certificates of age.—The requirement of an employment or age certificate before a child goes to work, as proof that he is of legal age for employment, has long been recognized as the cornerstone of child labor law enforcement. The program for making available such certificates under the Fair Labor Standards Act, carried on in close co-operation with state and local officials, is aimed at prevention of violations. It gives employers a means of assuring themselves that they are not employing minors under the age set by the act. The plans developed in the first year of the administration of the act, whereby state employment and age certificates are accepted as proof of age under the federal law, have been continued in forty-four states, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. By special regulation, birth certificates and baptismal certificates are temporarily serving this purpose in Alaska. In Mississippi, Idaho, South Carolina, and Texas, the Division has continued to issue federal certificates of age, since in these states the state child labor law does not provide for an age-certificate program.

This co-operative program has its value both in preventing violations and improving child labor law administration. As it has developed, officials responsible for administering state child labor laws have become more conscious of the inadequacies of their own laws and of the child labor problems of their own states. There has been a growth of interest in these matters which has brought about better administration of both the federal and state child labor laws; methods of certificate issuance have been improved; new child labor and school-

attendance bills have been promoted; legislative advances have been accomplished. This function of working with the states in improving legal standards and administration is one that was carried by the Industrial Division long before the Fair Labor Standards Act was enacted, but it has received great impetus because of the administrative responsibilities given by the Act and the opportunities thus afforded the Division to work closely with the states on a joint program.

Excerpts from recent letters from state officials show how the state and federal governments have been able to co-operate on joint programs for the benefit of working children by co-ordinating state and federal child labor law enforcement.

One labor commissioner writes:

We have found this co-operative agreement to be a real service to minors seeking employment as well as to the employer who may be in need of their services. . . .

Another says:

We believe that employers appreciated the service during the emergency years and in no case were we asked to lower the standards because of the emergency. We feel that this [age-certification] service relieved in no small measure the responsibility for legal employment and even in the face of huge numbers of applicants and a small staff, there has been no period during which an employer could feel that compliance with the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was causing a delay in securing production.

Even while pressures were great, both state and local offices were working toward better quality of issuance. Comment from one state official is pertinent:

In the issuance of these certificates, it has been our practice on many occasions to encourage or persuade young boys and girls seeking work to return to school and complete at least their high-school education. However,

a young person leaving school to work is usually set on getting a job so our efforts in this connection have not been very successful. We will keep on trying.

There is still much to be done in the development of more effective issuance procedures and the extension of employment-certificate requirements to all types of employment. For this highly important part of child labor law enforcement few if any states were adequately equipped even before the war, and war employment brought tremendous pressure upon these small staffs. Though the volume of work is lessening somewhat now, the program of certificate issuance for the country as a whole was at least five times as heavy in the year 1945 as in the year 1940. Whatever lessening pressure the coming year may show, it is more than ever important that the program of certificate issuance be developed so that the young person who is entering the labor market will have not only reliable proof that he is of legal age for employment but help and guidance in making the important transition from school to work. There is great need for a closer relationship between certificate-issuing services and guidance and placement services, so that the child will be helped to get the training he needs for satisfactory wage-earning and to find the job best suited to him.

Hazardous occupations.—The special need of inexperienced and immature boys and girls for protection from unsafe and dangerous work has long been recognized. The Fair Labor Standards Act reflects this recognition by providing for the application of an eighteen-year minimum age to occupations that have been found and declared by order to be especially hazardous. Although the issuance of hazardous-occupations orders was suspended during the war, advisory

standards were developed with the idea of giving the greatest possible protection to the many boys and girls entering employment in answer to war production needs, through voluntary action on the part of employers and others dealing with young persons at work. When war production ground to a halt, the emergency was over as far as expanding need for minors in the production line was concerned. They had done a good job; they had helped out when needed; but, when the need was past, the emphasis returned to efforts to get them back to school—and, for those who continued to work, to get them into jobs where protection against hazardous working conditions was assured.

Even before V-E Day, plans were under way to resume investigation of occupations preliminary to the issuance of hazardous-occupations orders under the procedures established under the Fair Labor Standards Act, including review of the wartime exemptions to existing hazardous-occupations orders. As a result of these findings the exemption to Hazardous-Occupations Order No. 5, permitting minors of sixteen and seventeen to work on certain machines used in the manufacture of veneer fruit and vegetable containers, was rescinded as of October 31, 1945. The repeal of the exemptions to Hazardous-Occupations Order No. 4, that permit minors of sixteen and seventeen to engage in certain jobs in logging and sawmilling otherwise prohibited by the order, is now under consideration, together with an amendment to the order which will bring pulpwood logging under its coverage.

Studies were made of the hazards of operation of elevators and other hoisting apparatus, equipment which has an unenviable record as a cause of industrial accidents, and a new hazardous-occupa-

tions order (Order No. 7) was issued, effective September 1, 1946, establishing a minimum age of eighteen in occupations involving the operation of such hoisting apparatus.

An investigation is now under way looking forward to a new order relating to cold-metal-working machines, which present many serious accident hazards and on which many young persons are employed. Very little information is available as to the actual hazards of work on these machines, although many of them have been singled out for specialized coverage under various state child labor laws. An indication of the scope of investigation necessary in this field may be seen in the fact that an inventory of machine tools in the United States in 1945 showed an estimated total of over 1,700,000 such tools on hand in twenty major industries. This investigation is one of the most comprehensive ever undertaken under child labor provisions of the Act and it is hoped that it will throw much-needed light on the question of which metal-working machines should not be operated by minors because of their great hazard.

To assist in the long-range program for extending protection to young workers from hazardous occupations through the securing of more comprehensive data, plans have been made with the Bureau of Labor Statistics to expand its comprehensive annual survey of industrial injuries so as to obtain separate data on injuries to minors under eighteen years in nonmanufacturing industries.

The need for using every possible avenue of approach to the job of keeping children and young persons out of dangerous work can be vividly realized by a look at a few reports of recent industrial injuries to young workers. Some of the following accidents came to light in the

course of inspections for compliance with the Fair Labor Standards Act; others were reported by state labor officials:

A seventeen-year-old boy working as coupler in a mine had his foot crushed by the wheel of a pit car when he reached to set the brake.

A fourteen-year-old boy lost an arm while operating an extractor in a laundry.

A fifteen-year-old girl lost three fingers of her right hand at the second joint when the metal-cutting machine she was operating became jammed.

A fifteen-year-old stock boy in a department store was crushed to death when he was caught between the freight elevator and the elevator shaft.

A fourteen-year-old boy, sweeping the top poles in a tobacco shed, fell 30 feet to a concrete floor. After a slow recovery from a fractured skull and partial paralysis, his hearing still remained impaired—perhaps for life.

A sixteen-year-old boy employed by a rug manufacturing company lost an arm as a result of catching it in the gears of a machine when he slipped and fell.

A seventeen-year-old boy, who had worked for fourteen consecutive hours when the accident occurred, lost four fingers while operating a meat-grinding machine.

A sixteen-year-old girl, employed in a bakery, lost her right hand when it was caught in a dough-brake machine. When this establishment was inspected for compliance with the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, sixty-eight minors under sixteen years of age were found illegally employed, and the company's files showed that sixteen accidents to minors under eighteen had taken place in the plant during the previous fourteen months.

Amendments to the Act.—The child labor standards set by the Fair Labor Standards Act are limited in application to children employed in establishments producing goods for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce. Eight years' experience under the law has pointed up certain loopholes in coverage. It has shown the need of bringing under the child labor coverage the whole field of interstate commerce. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in Janu-

ary, 1945, removing telegraph messengers from the protection of the child labor provisions of the Act,³ pointed out that the telegraph company, while clearly engaged in interstate commerce, does not "produce" goods or "ship" them in commerce within the meaning of the Act. Other interstate commerce industries which under ordinary circumstances do not produce goods and therefore are, for the most part, outside the coverage of the child labor provisions of the Act, are express companies, railroads, and water and air transportation. When amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act were proposed in Congress in 1945 and 1946, most of the bills introduced included provisions extending child labor coverage to all interstate industries, and a bill containing this provision passed the Senate but failed of action in the House.

EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Progress through legislation.—Since V-J Day there has been renewed interest among the states in the improvement of child labor standards. To bring about such advances there must be promotional activities on the part of many groups and individuals so that the public understands what the conditions are and what remedies are needed. This development of interest and the carrying on of promotional work is the direct responsibility of the citizens of the state. But these groups need the help that comes from information on experience in other states and from technical advice on the standards and administrative techniques to be sought in legislation so that it will accomplish in the most effective way the protection that it is desired to have ex-

³ *Western Union Co. v. Katharine F. Lenroot*, 323 U.S. 490.

tended to children. The Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau has always stood ready to give this assistance and help, in so far as its resources permit, as it is requested by members of code commissions, state labor departments, and others interested in child labor and related protective measures for youth.

The aid of many national organizations and of many state and local groups has been given to the sixteen-year minimum age drive, which has especially emphasized the need for including in state child labor legislation a sixteen-year minimum age for any work during school hours and in manufacturing or mechanical establishments at any time. The foresight in beginning this stimulation of interest in improving child labor standards in 1944, at a time when most states were still in a period of relaxing standards because of war demands, no doubt has influenced state groups in laying the groundwork for legislative proposals in 1946 and in making progress toward effective action in this postwar period.

To support this legislative movement a leaflet entitled *Sixteen-Year Minimum Age for Employment* was issued by the Industrial Division, explaining the movement as a postwar goal for protection of the nation's children.⁴ To meet the needs expressed by a group of youth-serving agencies, the Division prepared another pamphlet, *Why Child Labor Laws?*⁵ which develops clearly and simply the philosophy back of child labor legislation, the

reasons for proposed advances, and the progress already made.

As administration of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act has developed, the Division staff has been able to work more closely not only with persons concerned with state labor law administration—state labor and education departments and local certificate-issuing officials—but also with many other groups seriously interested in strengthening both state and federal child labor programs. Thus the Division's advisory and consultative service has developed differently in different localities because each has different problems at different times. While the common denominator is working children, one area may have pressing problems in connection with children in agriculture, another with children in lumber camps, another with Negro children in a textile town, another with the youth who lost their jobs in the shipyards, another with the Puerto Rican children who sell articles on the street, another with the children in Hawaii who make lauhalla pocketbooks, and still another with the young workers in the Alaskan canneries. But always it is the Division's task to interpret the experience and the methods of forging ahead that have proved successful in one area to those who are seeking to obtain similar objectives in another.

In connection with state legislative sessions in both 1946 and 1947, the Division consultants have been available in the field for consultation with various groups in connection with proposed legislation. Existing laws and their weaknesses have been analyzed, desirable standards and proposals have been discussed in the light of current conditions, and experience gained in some states has been passed on to leaders in other states

⁴ *Sixteen-Year Minimum Age for Employment* ("Child Labor Series," No. 16 [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch, 1946]).

⁵ *Why Child Labor Laws?* ("Child Labor Series," No. 1 [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch, 1946]). Originally published as Children's Bureau Publication No. 313, 1946.

confronted with the same problems. Church groups, women's clubs, labor organizations, youth-serving agencies, the American Legion, interracial groups, farm groups, and educational groups are typical of the kinds of organizations calling upon the Division for assistance.

Community surveys.—In order to have a clearer view of the problems which young people were facing it was recognized that firsthand information was necessary from the communities themselves regarding these problems and such planning as might be under way to meet them and regarding resources that might be drawn upon. Visits were made to a number of well-established industrial centers⁶ with populations of approximately 200,000-400,000, during the early winter of 1945-46. Local leaders and other interested persons were interviewed regarding the employment and educational problems of young people. Special attention was given to community opinion as to how these problems should be met.

The results of these surveys point to the need for further planning and for further stimulation of community interest if the employment and educational problems facing young people are to receive adequate recognition and ways be found to meet them. It was evident from the attitude of most community leaders that the interests of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds who left school to help speed war production, as well as those leaving school in this period for the first time, are likely to be lost sight of in the effort to meet the more obvious needs of the returned veteran, unless special attempts are made to include them in a general postwar program.

⁶ Long Beach, Calif.; Atlanta, Ga.; Denver, Colo.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Louisville, Ky.; Providence, R.I.; Portland, Ore.; Syracuse, N.Y. Briefer surveys were made in a few other cities.

This effort to find out what was going on at the community level brought out the unevenness of planning from community to community, the gaps in the services available for young people everywhere, and the presence of undeveloped resources that might have been instrumental in closing these gaps if there had been leadership interested enough to bring the resources of the community together. Notwithstanding the lack of general community interest, however, there was real concern and anxiety on the part of individuals close enough to these young people to recognize their needs. The evaluation by such persons of the adequacy of present programs and facilities and their opinions as to what should be done to improve them—together with the general facts brought out by the surveys—have been of real value both to the Division and to the federal Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education, both in their approach to youth problems and in the direction of their planning. The publication, *Your Community and Its Young People: Their Educational and Employment Opportunities*, prepared by this Interagency Committee and issued by the Children's Bureau as Publication No. 316, is aimed to arouse the interest of communities, direct their inquiries, and promote ways of meeting the emerging needs of their young people.

Children in agriculture.—The regulation of child labor in agriculture has long been the weakest link in the chain of child labor controls. In co-operation with many groups, the Children's Bureau has made great efforts to better conditions for these children. Probably the first important manifestation by the Department of Labor of a special interest in agricultural labor was the series of studies of child workers in agriculture made by the Children's Bureau in the

early 1920's. The Bureau's studies in this field have extended from 1920 to 1941 and have covered a wide variety of agricultural work in many areas—from Colorado to Connecticut and from Michigan to Texas.

By the outbreak of World War II, much progress had been made in protecting children in industrial employment through state and federal child labor laws, but in forty-three states there was no legal minimum age for the employment of children in agriculture outside of school hours and in twenty-two states no minimum age even during school hours. The child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which gave protection to the large majority of child workers in factories, applied to children in agriculture only during the periods when the laws of their own states required them to be in school, and state school-attendance laws were generally so loosely drawn as to make even this limited coverage ineffective. The situation as to state laws has changed little up to the present time, and there has been no change in the federal law.

With the acute farm labor shortage that developed with the war came the recruitment of large numbers of urban youth for work on farms. Since legal protections generally were lacking, the Children's Bureau, in co-operation with other federal agencies and after consultation with many private organizations, developed recommended or voluntary standards for this movement.

Although these voluntary standards developed for urban youth in wartime agriculture had no legal status, they served to give those who were concerned with the programs a knowledge of the minimum acceptable standards. They have also demonstrated that the projects where older boys and girls are recruited and where recommended standards as to

living and working conditions, supervision, safety, health, and transportation are observed are both the best programs for the youngsters and also the most satisfactory to the farmers who employ them. These standards, however, have not been accepted everywhere, and some urban children have lived and worked on farms under most undesirable conditions. But where the need was greatest, community groups have often been formed to discuss ways to improve conditions and to help in putting them into effect.

The standards developed for urban youth in wartime agriculture have not carried over to the large number of migrant family workers employed in industrialized agriculture, where conditions have traditionally been bad and where both child labor and living conditions were found in 1945 and 1946 comparable to those found when the studies of twenty years ago were made. Little children seven, eight, nine, and ten years old were kept out of school and at work weeding or picking vegetables, inching along in the dirt between the rows. Even the children who did not work often had no real opportunity for education. They belonged to no community and were deprived of the health, welfare, and other social services available to community residents. An attack on this migrant child labor problem is much more difficult than it is in a situation where urban children are recruited for work in wartime agriculture. There is no program for these migrant farm workers and hence no program managers with whom to promote standards. Many of the communities that have been interested in the ways in which their own children were recruited for farm work and protected while at work have not been concerned with the traditional farm migrant child.

An encouraging movement toward a

unified federal approach to the migratory labor problem, with which the welfare of these migratory child workers is bound up, is the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, appointed on May 3, 1946, by Major General Erskine, administrator of the Retraining and Re-employment Administration of the Labor Department. This committee is composed of representatives of the Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, Federal Security Agency, National Housing Agency, and Railroad Retirement Board. Its function is to consider how living and labor standards of migrant workers in industry, transportation, and agriculture can be developed and improved by the various government agencies that deal with their employment and to submit appropriate recommendations to the Administrator as to necessary corrective action.

Another evidence of public recognition of these needs is the emphasis placed by the Thirteenth National Conference on Labor Legislation meeting in Washington, D.C., in December, 1946, on betterment of labor conditions for all agricultural migrant workers as well as other migrant laborers. What is needed, the Conference said, is legislation that will better the employment and living conditions of these workers and give their children opportunity for education, and, in addition, the development of programs that will give migratory workers and their families the health, welfare, education, recreation, and other community services that they need.

Placement services for young people.—The principles underlying good placement service for young persons have been given special consideration by the federal Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education. Both the United States Employment Service and the Industrial Division of the Children's

Bureau made inquiries into current practices and planning—the United States Employment Service from the point of view of administrative operation of its own offices, which had some special arrangements with regard to service to young workers or with the schools. The Division's inquiry showed a widespread awareness of need for better means of assisting young people to choose and find suitable jobs. In addition to realizing the immediate importance to the individual young people of obtaining jobs in which they have relatively good opportunities to develop their interest and abilities, community groups felt that placement services for young people which were well-developed, competent, and knit into the life of the community were of supreme importance as preparation for handling problems of youth unemployment, should these develop.

Work of Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education.—The Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education,⁷ of which the Chief of the Children's Bureau is chairman and to which the Industrial Division has given staff and research service, has given consideration to the needs and problems of youth in relation to employment and education and has been developing proposals as to needed programs of action. The nation's young people fourteen through twenty years of age—at work, in school, or entering the working

⁷ The committee is composed of representatives of the following federal agencies whose programs particularly concern youth: Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor (Apprentice Training Service, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Labor Standards and its Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch, U.S. Employment Service, Women's Bureau); Federal Security Agency (Office of Community War Services, U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Employment Security, Bureau of Public Assistance, and Children's Bureau). The members were designated by the heads of their agencies.

world—numbered in 1940 slightly over 17 million, or a sixth of the total population fourteen years of age and over. The committee feels that the employment and educational needs of this large proportion of our citizens must receive special consideration in the present critical period. In a report to the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, it recommended a nation-wide program for youth, including school programs to serve the individual needs of all young people; removal of financial barriers to school attendance; suitable job opportunities; good standards of employment; good counseling and placement services; and community action on behalf of youth that will bring into play all available resources.

CHILD LABOR A MATTER OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN

The twenty-ninth session of the International Labor Conference, held in Montreal September 19—October 9, 1946, followed the lead of the 1945 Paris Conference in devoting serious attention to child labor and youth employment problems. Draft Conventions were adopted on (1) medical examinations of children and young persons for fitness for employment in industry, (2) medical examinations of children and young persons for fitness for employment in non-industrial occupations, and (3) restriction of night work of children and young persons in nonindustrial occupations.

The Conventions on medical examinations require such examinations as a prerequisite for employment of children and young persons under eighteen in both industrial and nonindustrial occupations, that is, in all employment except work in agriculture and maritime employment. In addition, medical examinations of employed young persons are to be required at least annually up to eight-

een years of age. The night-work convention requires prohibition of employment of young persons between fourteen and eighteen years of age for at least twelve consecutive night hours, to include the period between 10:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M., and prohibition of employment for at least fourteen consecutive night hours for children under fourteen and those between fourteen and eighteen still subject to full-time compulsory school attendance.

These Conventions are the first dealing specifically with young workers that have been approved by the International Labor Conference since 1937, when the minimum-age conventions were revised. The Conference also adopted a resolution urging that prompt consideration be given to the development of a convention providing for medical examinations for children employed in agricultural work. It was obvious that the ever present concern of the nations of the world for the protection of their young workers had been sharpened by the effects on the children of the deprivations and horrors of the war years. And although there were differences of opinion as to the means and measures to be used, there was an encouraging and a wholehearted spirit of progress which bodes well for the future of working boys and girls everywhere.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The picture of child labor and youth employment that has emerged in this first year of peace shows that this country has a long way to go before the needs of its young people in this field are fully met. There are still many gaps in the legal protection of young workers that should be bridged. There are still many gaps in the opportunities open to young people for the education essential for their development, for the counseling that will help them plan their vocations

wisely, for the help they should have in establishing themselves in jobs. Community action is vitally needed to deal with these problems and to utilize all possible resources to meet them.

The citizens of this country, whether they are acting as national, state, or local officials, as members of national, state, or local groups, or as individuals, need current information on what is happening with regard to satisfactory education for boys and girls, the available employment opportunities for young people, the conditions under which they work, and possible developments for their educational opportunity and employment protection under postwar economic conditions. They need to know the factors entering into the new situations that are arising and to foresee new developments, favorable or unfavorable. They need expert advisory and consultative service in dealing with these problems, in deciding upon practicable objectives, and in developing favorable public opinion. Only on the basis of such knowledge and with the help of such services will it be possible to advance federal and state legislative protection for all child workers, to protect young workers from accident and health hazards, to build up good labor standards for children employed in industrialized agriculture, and to provide better guidance, counseling, and placement services for young people so that they may make wise decisions and be guided into jobs where they may contribute to the public good and find the greatest personal satisfaction.

For more than three decades the Children's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor, through its Industrial Division, has given leadership to the achievement of these objectives. Although that Bureau, with the exception

of the Industrial Division, was made a part of the Federal Security Agency on July 16, 1946, this leadership is still being given in the Labor Department by the same staff, but in another Division of that Department. At the time of the Children's Bureau's transfer to the Federal Security Agency, its Industrial Division was transferred as an organizational entity to the Division of Labor Standards of the Department of Labor, where it now functions as the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of that Division. It is upon this agency that the responsibility now falls for continuance of these services and for the expansion and strengthening of a unified and comprehensive program for the betterment of young workers. This program should go forward, with a close relationship between the Children's Bureau and the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch, so that there shall be no lessening of progress in meeting the needs of children on all fronts. Changes in organization must not be permitted to impede the program. There is a continually expanding need for all the help and service that can be given to meet the education and employment problems of youth.

Now, at the close of the second world war, with a deeper recognition of the extent to which world peace is founded on economic security and of the extent to which the present generation of youth can find normal satisfaction in school, in work, and in good social relationships, we must not, we dare not, fail to accomplish these ends for the young people who are the hope of the nation's future.

CHILD LABOR AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT BRANCH
DIVISION OF LABOR STANDARDS
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

A NEW ERA IN MENTAL HEALTH

GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M.D.

FOR many reasons the terrific problem of mental ill-health in the United States has been evaded traditionally as a public responsibility. This provision of "hospital care" is in many cases the beginning and end of public effort. The Seventy-ninth Congress made a bold attempt to change this tradition. Whether it is successful or not depends upon the vigor and intelligence with which the new National Mental Health Act is administered both locally and in Washington.

Man is only supposedly a rational being. Perhaps it would be more correct to say only partly a rational being. As a result, the inevitable irrationalities in his behavior occurring in the face of an expectation that he will always behave reasonably confront him with a dilemma. On the one hand, he wishes to come up to the ideal of rational behavior that is set for him. On the other, he knows that this is frequently impossible. Not being well oriented in the field of psychology, not knowing that unrational behavior is human, he sometimes interprets normal unrational behavior as mental unbalance. This embarrassment occurs sufficiently frequently to sensitize him to matters of mental ill-health. He shuns these problems, and so, still acting with unreason, he cannot look upon society's obligation to the mentally unwell with the same objectivity and poise with which he confronts himself about such handicaps as orthopedic crippling.

It is in part this widespread and intense evasion of the problem of mental ill-health that keeps the public in ignorance—in ignorance of its facilities for

dealing with it—and inactive about improving the public mental health.

Mental hospitals at best are difficult to administer, but without a public conscience behind them the difficulties of administration turn into restraint, abuse, and neglect. They cease as hospitals, and, lacking in full therapeutic intent, they are not attractive to first-rate staff in most states. The administration of an already deteriorated institution demands higher talent than one that is running well. Yet such hospitals are put in the hands of mediocre staff and deteriorate still further. The public is kept ignorant of the conditions and so permits the conditions to continue until an exposé stirs it to reform. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene has gone on record as follows: "*Resolved*, That the National Committee for Mental Hygiene will encourage and actively support the efforts of superintendents of mental hospitals and of commissioners of mental hygiene and of other local or state officials to communicate with the community regarding the needs of their hospital and of the patients under their care."

The whole conception of public psychiatry is in need of revision. Probably elemental in this will be the shift of the focus of such service from a ward to which people are sent after they become seriously ill, to a community in which their illness begins and to which they return after recovery to seek readjustment. The whole field of social service has a serious stake in this change.

Today the instrument of public psychiatry in the community—that is, the clinic—is seriously underdeveloped. Excellent training is being offered for clinic

personnel, especially psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers, but in amount this is far from adequate to meet the need. Furthermore, clinics have been developed largely in urban areas, in fact, in communities ranging over one hundred thousand population, whereas approximately 70 per cent of the country is left unserved in any way. Some traveling clinics attempt to meet the problem of this 70 per cent, but for the most part these clinics are makeshift efforts lacking qualified personnel. This is important because a large portion of public psychiatric practice in a community has to do with psychoneuroses, for which medical residencies in our state hospitals have been given little or no preparation.

But limited as they are, these clinics have made it very clear that the beginnings of a mental health program must be discovered even earlier in the course of the disorder than admission to a clinic. There are physicians, social agencies, and courts whose function it is to help people who are already in difficulties; but even earlier there are schoolteachers, public health nurses, and church functionaries who routinely see relatively large segments of our normal population and who see problems in their incipency. Often the family physician is in this strategic position because, while he is called in to help with an established problem, in the course of this he is confronted with many opportunities for the strengthening of the mental health of the family. This is especially true in obstetrics and pediatrics. Industry also has excellent indicators of the beginnings of breakdown in normal individuals through its concern with technical incompetence and absenteeism. But today these warnings are seldom heeded until the problem is more fully developed.

Research into human behavior and its deviations has been poorly organized and

supported. A few consistent and well-oriented programs of psychiatric research, such as that of the Scottish Rite in dementia praecox, are in existence, but they are extremely small relative to need.

It has been the dream of many authorities in the mental hygiene field for a long period of years to see a National Institute of Mental Health established under federal auspices and to see some federal grants-in-aid to encourage progress under other auspices. It was, therefore, as a dream coming true that the National Mental Health Act was passed by the Seventy-ninth Congress and signed by President Truman on July 3.

But it must not be forgotten that such laws merely define and authorize a function of government. They authorize the United States Public Health Service to include financial provision for it in the annual budget, but this budget still needs to be passed by Congress annually. In effect, the National Mental Health Act must be passed annually, and this is likely to happen only if it has continuous interest and support from those who are dealing with the mental health problems of our population.

For the fiscal year 1946-47 the budget of the Public Health Service had, of course, already been passed before the passage of this act, so that supplementary funds are being asked of the new Congress. The acquaintance of members of Congress, especially the new representatives and senators, with the importance of this act will depend heavily upon those who are professionally concerned with mental ill-health. It will depend especially upon social workers who are accustomed to seeing mental ill-health in the making and to struggling with its devastating effects.

The National Mental Health Act provides for a National Advisory Council of six; and, while this Council is for the

most part purely advisory, it is in a position to exercise great influence. The administrations of the Federal Security Agency, the Public Health Service, and the Mental Hygiene Division of the Public Health Service give every evidence of depending upon this Council. While the Council is limited to six, each member of the Council has an unofficial alternate who is a consultant to the Public Health Service. He sits with the Council and enters into its deliberations, although he does not vote. In addition, the Council has established three committees to advise on the three grant-in-aid aspects of the execution of this new law.

There is a special committee on research, which will review all proposals submitted for support under this act. Research projects may receive 100 per cent support, and applications may be made by any person or agency directly to the Public Health Service.

The second committee is concerned with professional training. The act is broad in this respect, since it does not restrict the meaning of training and it may include psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, attendants, occupational therapists, general physicians, medical social workers, nurses, and perhaps other categories not now conceived. Applications for training will be reviewed by this committee. The Council has the power to stipulate the number of fellowships to be granted. Applications may be made by any individual or agency directly to the Public Health Service.

The third committee is concerned with community services. Such services may include clinics, programs for public education, preventive activities, and other services directly valuable to patients. It will not provide for the ordinary care of patients in mental hospitals, a function now accepted by the states. Grants-in-aid for service will be made only to

states; the amount will be determined by the size, wealth, and need of the state, and a state must provide for one-third of the cost. Applications for such assistance must be made to the Public Health Service by the designated state department. In some states this will be a department of mental hygiene or mental health, in others a department of welfare, and in others a department of health. In many states special appropriations will be needed to match the federal funds. Communities within a state should make application to the designated state department to be included in the plan submitted by it to Washington.

Aside from this grant-in-aid program the law provides for the establishment of a National Institute of Mental Health in Washington, in which it is the intent to provide staff and facilities for every aspect of research work bearing upon this field. The hospital connected with this institute will provide for about two hundred patients, but it will not in any sense be designed to receive patients permanently for service. It will have extensive laboratories, the best possible teachers, and provision for advanced students. It will in a way be international in its scope, since it may invite foreign scientists to come to the United States for work or extend its activities as needed to any place where a solution to the problems of mental ill-health may be facilitated.

That this act be well administered is obviously of immense concern to the whole field of social service, which has moved ahead hand in hand with psychiatry for so many years. It should strengthen the services of social agencies. It needs the constant critical attention of these agencies and, at this time, their support in its launching. The best insurance of its future will be its successful operation.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

CONTENT IN BASIC SOCIAL CASE WORK¹

HELEN HARRIS PERLMAN

IN THE actual process of good teaching, as in any art, content is inseparable from method. The form into which content is cast, the way it is made manifest and illuminated, determine its meaning. By the same token, method serves to project the essential nature of the knowledge and ideas that form a given content. Good teaching is characterized by the organic unity between content and method, but this does not necessarily come about spontaneously. It develops out of, first, a careful analysis of what it is that one is trying to teach and, then, when this has been settled upon, a consideration of what ways and means will infuse it with life.

This article is an attempt to describe and illustrate essential content in a course in basic case work. The establishment of the kinds of facts, concepts, and principles that are the foundation of practice is a primary necessity in any program of professional education. When the content is developed to fulfil the purpose and aims of the particular training program and is clearly known, then those educational methods which modern pedagogy, psychology, and case work itself have developed to help people learn will provide the means to the achievement of those aims.

The subject matter of social case work can be listed quite simply. It consists of these areas of knowledge:

1. The kinds of problems that beset human beings and with which they need help.

2. Human beings themselves, as affected by and affecting their social situations.

3. The kinds of social agencies and resources to which people come for help and the case workers who administer the agencies' services.

4. The principles and methods of that helping process.

But simple listing is a deceptive process. One has only to look squarely at one of these topics to be overwhelmingly aware of how wide and deep it runs, how complex and varied is the range of knowledge within it. The question of where to begin is pushed by the insistent question of where to end. Before we can attempt to circumscribe the essentials, we face the necessity of stating our aims in using this subject matter and the teaching and learning expectations. The question is: What does the student of social case work need to learn about troubled people and their problems, the agencies to which they come, and the ways in which help is given them? The student is preparing for the practice of social case work. He must, then, learn to know facts, theories, principles. He must learn to understand intellectually and feelingly, to think about and analyze the significance and meaningfulness of his knowledge. He must make his own certain concepts and precepts which will affect his behavior and relationships. And he must learn to *do*—to act effectively—as a helping person. The content of a basic case-work course, then, must provide the materials and the means by which its subject matter can be experienced by the student as something to be

¹ This is an expansion of a paper presented for discussion at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work in Pittsburgh, January, 1946.

known, to be understood, to be felt, and to be resolved into action.

"To know" means to be informed, to grasp the fact, to be more or less familiar with. The teacher of social case work is from the first challenged by the vast horizons of the knowledges which bear upon individuals operating in a complicated social structure. There are no limits to the kinds and amount of knowledge a case worker might usefully have stored away. Yet to offer highly concentrated packets of experience, fact, or theory to the knowledge-hungry student may leave him with a bad case of total indigestion. On the other hand, to leave to chance that this morsel of fact, that bit of theory, these crumbs of experience, will stick to the mind's ribs is to court starvation. The resolution seems to be to create and stimulate an appetite for knowledge and then to make it ready and available for the seeking. Like those babies in the feeding experiments who, among the variety of foods spread before them, reached out for what they needed to best nourish themselves, so learners reach for and retain such knowledge as they need, as they find useful and nourishing to their learning purposes.

About the subject matter of people who are seeking help because they are experiencing breakdown in their social situations, the student may be stimulated to seek pertinent knowledge in various ways. Case material itself should be selected which presents and illustrates common and repeated, though individually varied, experiences so that knowledge gained is applicable and useful from case to case. Each case discussion presents stimulus to knowing, provided the instructor consistently indicates those areas about which there are established facts and theories as distinct from those which are matters of opinion or wishful

thinking. Misconceptions, prejudices, misinformation, differences of opinion which emerge in class discussions—all may be used to point to the need for established fact or theory to bulwark or clarify or provide the basis for knowing. A bibliography which is a reading guide rather than merely a listing of printed matter is a key to the student's learning how to know. The setting-up of foundation readings such as present and reiterate basic concepts is essential, the use of selected readings relevant to the case—"These articles bear on the problems or questions you encounter in this case"; "If you want to understand more about the meaning of money, this article . . ."; and so on. Other courses in the curriculum are avenues to acquiring pertinent kinds of knowledge which can only be touched on in the basic case-work course, but the case-work instructor's reference to them when they relate to the material at hand both broadens the student's vision and helps him to integrate his learning. The human dilemmas and reactions which case material presents lie close to us all, and the student's feelings and preconceptions are readily excited by them. It is desirable that the student should feel and react, but it is the beginning of professional learning and discipline when the challenge comes from the instructor (and then is incorporated by the student himself)—"Are you thinking or reacting out of your actual knowledge? What and how can you know more about it?"

But knowledge is sterile unless it is thought about and understood. A disheartening number of students come out of college without ever having been taught to think. They know much, but they understand little. Not all students have capacity for penetrative thinking; rather few have the capacity for a rich imaginative play of ideas. Incisiveness

and creativity cannot be taught; but, since one of the first essentials of good professional practice is that it be based on knowledge that is illuminated by understanding, it is essential that a habit and a way of thinking be taught. To understand is to have a grasp of the significance and meaning of facts, to be able to analyze, appraise, evaluate, and see relationships. Understanding is a process which has continuity and transferability. Course content in case work, then, must provide not simply the opportunity of understanding this situation or that person but also the means of learning how to understand—that is, how to think.

Thinking has a definite structure which applies to all situations and all issues, and this structured process in its broadest aspect involves these steps:

1. What do I *know* about this person or situation—or what facts do I need in order to know?

2. What ideas do I have about them—i.e., what in past experience or knowledge with similar or contrasting situations comes to my mind which enables me to see into these facts, to interpret their meaning? How do they relate to one another? What speculative framework or hypothesis do I set up about them? In social case work we have called this process “diagnosis,” a word which has aroused objections and fears because of its medical connotations and its alleged static quality or because of its implied formal and technical nature. Actually, diagnosis is simply good thinking for *use*—that is, for the purpose of taking the third step, which is: To what resolution or action does my knowledge and understanding bring me?

Here, again, such cases as have in them clearly discernible facts about persons and problems, which give indication of cause-and-effect relationships, which

display client-and-worker interaction in relation to problem-and-agency function furnish the material for learning how to think and how to understand. Issues, problems, situations which present themselves, are scrutinized for meaning, speculated upon, checked against what is known. A play of ideas and reactions is stimulated, then is to be appraised and checked against evidence, or logic, or experience. Differences of interpretation are sifted and weighed against facts or knowledge. Part of learning how to understand is learning to think comparatively, to see likenesses among cases and to discern differences, to separate what is unique in an individual situation and to establish the common characteristics and general principles. Every class discussion may serve these purposes, provided it is controlled by an instructor in line with the disciplines involved in good thinking and provided the purposes are shared with the students. Written assignments requiring presentation and weighing of evidence, the development of a hypothesis on the basis of which some conclusion is reached, offer actual practice in an ordered approach to problems.

Perhaps the unique difference between the content of most college and professional courses and the content of social case work is that in the latter to learn how to know and how to understand is not enough. Because the whole purpose of teaching social case work is to prepare for practice and because case-work practice involves the coming-together of two dynamic personalities in an emotionally charged situation, the student must be taught how to feel. Specifically, he must be helped to experience his feelings freely, to recognize and gain some understanding of his own subjective reactions, and then be taught to subject them to control and discipline.

We call that student gifted in case work who has capacity for quick, warm sympathy; for compassion; for knowing in his very nerves and muscles the emotions and attitudes of other people. This is something that cannot truly be taught. The student may be said to have been born with it, and he has shared in other persons' living experiences from the first book he knew or, even before, from his first recognition of hurt.

But even the less-gifted student has feelings, and the teaching problem becomes one of freeing him sufficiently so that he can lend himself, his senses, perceptions, and emotions to knowing other people. For the most part, this must happen in field-work practice. To some extent, however, this is affected by classroom teaching in so far as knowledge that is sought for and understanding that is achieved may modify or even erase such biases, prejudices, resistances, as had previously been maintained more out of ignorance than out of conviction. To come to understand, for example, that an alcoholic is a sick man rather than a depraved man, that a person accepting relief is not by that token a dependent personality, involves not only an intellectual but also an emotional shift.

This kind of modification or change takes place almost unconsciously. But toward helping the student become conscious and cognizant of his own subjectivity, course content needs to be utilized to stimulate, draw out, and examine feeling. "This man has lied about his income. What do you want to do?" "Here is this woman's second child born out of wedlock. Do you think she should be allowed to keep her children?" "Would you like to tell your client about the social service exchange?" The beginning student feels strongly about all such is-

ues, but free expression of such feeling will not come out unless it is supported by the instructor's acceptance of it as natural, understandable, commonly experienced. Once drawn out and shared with the class for like or different reactions, feelings must be dealt with systematically by the instructor: "These are our feelings. Are they like or different from the client's? What factors make for this difference or likeness? Is this feeling based on knowledge or does it rise out of your personal experience or preconceptions? Is it possible that knowledge and understanding will reshape or rechannelize this feeling? Knowing what? Understanding what? Are these feelings appropriate to your professional helping position? If not, what can you do about them?"

It is only when the student's own feelings have been recognized and to some extent accepted by himself that he is able to separate them from those of the client and then consciously to control them.

In part, a professional way of feeling is caught from the instructor by the contagion that occurs in the professional identification which often takes place between student and teacher. Tolerance for differences as seen among students themselves and the constant evidence in the classroom that, although the student's ideas or attitudes may be found wanting or unacceptable, he himself is given acceptance and respect—these provide demonstration of a professional discipline of feeling.

Teaching how to know, how to understand, how to feel, converge upon one aim—to teach the student what and how to do. The moment he is placed in the field the student is faced with having to act, and "What do you do when . . . ?" or "What do you say if . . . ?" becomes

the constant quest of the beginner. Knowledge and understanding of resources, of the services and operations of functional agencies, of case-work purposes and goals, of human motivation and behavior, are the sources from which principles of "what and how to do" flow. For the most part, the transmutation of this knowledge and understanding into skill must take place in field-work practice. Techniques as such are not well taught in a classroom because one cannot separate the ways of working from the dynamics of individual persons-situations to be worked with. However, there are many basic principles which govern or promote the helping process, and it is these which should be drawn out and applied to the study of case material. A major focus of interest for the beginning student in the use of case material is the interaction between worker and client in the case material studied. There tends to be a compassionate identification with the worker in his efforts to help the client or, at the other extreme, an aggressively critical attack upon what the worker did or said. Both attitudes rise out of the student's own insecurity. The reaction and the uncertainty are best met not by the substitution of a new set of words or actions for those recorded but rather by helping the student to focus on the worker's purpose; from there to help the student draw from his reading or experience and to formulate a general principle of acting or doing that would carry through that purpose; thence to possible methods. For example, Mrs. Green tells a worker that her child is in trouble at school. The worker urges her to consult the school authorities but meets with her resistance. The student's first reaction is to produce some phrasing different from what the worker used as the open sesame to Mrs. Green. "She should have said

this instead of that." The case-work teacher must redirect this search, however, to an examination of the possible reasons for Mrs. Green's defensiveness, to the fact that both the worker and the client must to some extent understand those reasons, that they can be understood only as they are expressed, that the expression of feelings provides not only some easing of tension and sharing of burden but also presents the possibility of dealing with them. Now, what methods may be the vehicle for these principles?

Just as, in the case-work interview the client is given a kind of dress rehearsal for experimenting with his reality, so in the classroom the student is prepared for his "doing." Within the studied interview there is the opportunity for a vicarious savoring, examining, experiencing, and anticipating of work with people. In his field work the student goes out to experiment with the principles evolved in class. The nature of his actual experience, the differences which emerge in practice, the weaknesses or the validity of the treatment principles for him, are subjected again in the classroom to re-examination and re-formulation.

To illustrate the embodiment of these aims of content, the following is a very brief presentation of the basic case-work course as given in the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.² It cannot be said that it fully

² The basic case-work course at the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, is a two-quarter course of thirty-six hours of instruction per quarter. The first quarter's case material comes from public agency settings. The problems are those of people trapped or handicapped by economic problems in need of help to establish eligibility, to manage money, to utilize health services, to maintain cohesive family life. The student takes his field work concurrently with this course, and his first two quarters' placement is almost invariably in a public assistance agency.

achieves the aims, but it is striving toward them.

We begin by attempting to define case work—its being one method of social work, its relationships to and differences from other kinds, its goals, the kinds of agencies that use it, its variable aspects as determined by those agencies, and its basic, unvarying principles. Concurrently with this classroom discussion, reading is being done by the students about the foundations of case work, historical and conceptual. In these discussions, these purposes are served:

1. A frame of reference is established—an area of a large field is cut out for beginning orientation and study.

2. An operational philosophy is established and mutually accepted—the rights of the individual to self-determination, the assumption that growth in people comes from within them, the focus of case work as being upon the person who has a problem and the meaning of his problem to him, that one of the unique characteristics of helping by case work is that it has an established method of approach, etc.

3. A point of view of attitude begins to be inculcated or nourished: that we are *social* case workers; that we carry responsibility, not only for our specialized skills but for knowing and acting in relation to the social issues and forces which release or throttle good human living. Identification is developed of one's self as a professional person, as a representative of the agency by which one is hired, as one who maintains the standards and ideals to which he professes.

4. A new way of learning is being ex-

perienced—that learning is a process, not an act, involving the acquisition of knowledge, thinking about and analyzing it in the light of one's own biases, prejudices, convictions, and, conversely, thinking these through in the light of growing knowledge.

Now discussion narrows into an examination of the nuclear case-work situation: a person with a problem comes to an agency for help. We discuss the kinds of problems people bring to agencies, the range of feelings about such problems, "asking" as both problem and beginning resolution, emotional aspects of giving or withholding, and so on. The students are asked to write of some experience of their own when they were in an "asking" position. The purpose of this exercise is to stimulate recognition of the universality, and yet for the individual the poignancy, of asking for help. We examine the cultural and psychological basis for such feeling. This is followed by class reading of some excerpts of case material showing a hostile attitude in a client asking help. The students are encouraged to react to this. Do they like this man? Why or why not? Why does he act as he does? Does further understanding of him change their feeling? We begin to examine and define such concepts as identification, objectivity, feelings about rights to relief, responsibility as the counterpart of right. Now that we have a beginning awareness of the dynamic interaction of person, problem, agency, and self, we turn to the study of these factors in case material.

Within the first quarter the cases used are those in which the individual or family needs help because of some problem impinging from the outside, when the person is victim rather than creator of circumstance. The needs are primarily economic, due to death of wage-earner,

The second quarter's case material presents a variety of case-work settings to which people bring such problems as deeply disturb their mental and emotional equilibrium or as are created by such disturbance already present in them.

ill-health, disability, old age, widespread unemployment. The agencies are public assistance setups. There are, of course, problems other than money-needs to be dealt with—the psychological components of physical disability, economic dependence, need for educational or employment guidance, budget-planning, difficulties involved in establishing eligibility, etc. This has proved to be a useful group of cases because it serves these purposes:

1. *The problems.*—Basic economic and physical deprivations, the obvious hardships and limitations they impose upon people, are readily grasped by the most inexperienced student. The needs are concrete and specific; the resources are tangible and available for the student to take hold of. He will be led to understand these needs more deeply and broadly, to look into their significance, their personal and social implications—in short, to see them with professional eyes. But at the very beginning he feels on fairly safe ground; these are things he thinks he understands.

2. *The settings.*—The function and programs of public assistance agencies are clearly defined. The range as well as the limitations of policies and services are set down and can be known and encompassed by the student's imagination. For foundation the student must be directed to such reading as will give him knowledge of the law and its intent as well as understanding of its historical roots, its embodiment in agencies, the unity or disparity between human needs and the instruments for meeting them.

More than this, it is of tremendous value to the student, uncertainly groping his way into social work, to find himself part of the dynamic thrust and forward movement that is taking place in public welfare. Within a period of ten years

revolutionary changes have come about in this field. The student who chooses social work as a profession is (dare one say it?) a reformer. He wants to "right wrongs," to "change things for the better." Though his concepts and methods of change are often crude and sometimes hopelessly inept, his concerns are true and valid concerns for a social worker. The swing in case work away from reforms or social responsibility is readily understood in the light of our history. But changes in our social impulses, institutions, instruments, are bitterly needed; and the fire and energy in beginning students, so often doused or smothered in their case-work tutelage, might rather be harnessed and used to constructive ends. The public assistances present a constant challenge and channel to social integration, thinking, and planning. Social action, legislation, politics, citizen responsibility, all converge upon this individual mother's getting A.D.C. or this old man's O.A.A. grant. And from these individual cases, dealt with by case-work method, there is a radiation out again to all groups and forces in community and government concerned with social welfare. Nowhere better than in public assistance cases is established the ebb and flow of relationship between the person in need and the social forces that bear upon him and the organic relationship between social case work to social planning and action.

Class discussion concerns itself with these problems and possibilities, discussion about such issues as these: "Should relatives be held responsible for financial assistance? How do you see it operating in Mrs. S.'s case? If you could re-write the poor law, would you include or exclude relatives' responsibility?" "If you know that your agency's budgets are too low, what is your recourse—leave the

job? Close your eyes to sources of income your clients may have? Try to promote an increase? How?" And so on.

3. *The people.*—In this first quarter's cases we see people who, except for economic breakdowns, have led normal, self-directing lives. For the student who still views personal disturbance with some fear and theories of personality development with some healthy skepticism, this is a group of persons readily identified with. Yet, it is with this group of cases that one can begin to teach about feelings and emotional springs of behavior as bread-and-butter, every-day things—the apparent fact that feelings, attitudes, reactions, arise about and influence how persons will handle getting a job, living on a marginal income, going to a clinic, and that, in turn, these every-day problems create feeling.

The cases we use present situations which, on the surface, look alike—three men applying for relief due to unemployment, three women applying for A.D.C. due to the deaths of their husbands, etc. Comparative thinking is called for in written assignments and discussion—"What in the life-situations is different among these cases, and what in these personalities is different? What makes one man feel suicidal at asking for relief, the second able to mobilize himself into action, the third spill his energies into battling the agency?" The movement into understanding past experience as shaping present behavior is a natural process here. The student's own feelings—identification, rejection, prejudice for or against these people—begin to be filtered through his growing knowledge of and insight into human behavior.

4. *The case-work method.*—Because the student is faced with having to act the moment he is in the field, the classroom case material is consistently studied in

terms of what the case worker is called on to do, and what he does well or poorly is noted and evaluated in terms of simple, basic principles. It is reassuring to the beginning student to take hold, for example, of the concept that the case worker is the agency in action; that he is hired to administer the agency's services in line with agency policies and procedures, "humanized" and individualized through the case-work process.

At about the middle of the first quarter, when there has been some exploration and fixing of beginning knowledge, understanding, and responsibilities, a formal discipline is introduced, that is, a professional way of thinking and planning. This takes repeated exercise and drill with the student. The way he reads and discusses case material and his approach to any aspect of the case must be subject to this disciplined approach: What are the known facts and what needs to be ascertained? What do I make of these facts in their interrelationships? What ideas do I have about their meaning? To what resolution or action do I arrive? It takes didactic presentation, discussion, repetition, and practice with the use of case material in the discussion, plus at least one written exercise, to begin to establish the habit and its worth. (It is so much pleasanter to *feel* about a case than to *think* about it!) The value of such disciplined thinking, however, is demonstrable not alone in thinking about cases. It applies as well to coming to understand and resolve agency problems, social needs, or personal problems. From this point, the student is expected to submit his impulses and impressions to this professional discipline where action is the logical development out of understanding.

The first quarter's work, then, establishes ways of knowing and developing knowledge, ways of thinking and under-

standing, ways of feeling and disciplines of feeling, and basic principles in ways of doing.

Within the second quarter the case material presents more varied agency settings and functions, more complex interaction between individual situations and individual behavior and personality, cases selected to broaden and deepen vicarious experiences and vision. Within this second quarter there is more emphasis on principles of treatment. Through his first quarter the student has been readied for this. He has taken hold

of a way of knowing; he has acquired a crude but increasingly mastered way of thinking; he has a beginning discipline or hold on his own impulses for self-expression. He has been enabled, because he has not been "given" a course but has been taught how to work with content and make it part of him. He is able now to look out from this first quarter's business of helping himself to the business for which he is being trained—to use himself professionally in the interest of others.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CURRENT IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS

ADENA M. RICH

A SYMBOL OF FAITH IN AMERICA

FORTY-EIGHT Estonian refugees, anchored in the harbor at Miami at the close of summer awaiting their fate at the hands of the United States government, have become an international symbol of the needs and hopes of mankind everywhere in these days of postwar reconstruction.

They sailed in little open boats across the Atlantic, just as America's first immigrants came—without passports and visas and quota numbers—relying upon their hope that they would find a country still hospitable to the homeless and the oppressed. Braving the dangers of the sea and the hardships of their long journey, they have thereby paid a new tribute to America through the belief that their own ideals of freedom and opportunity would be recognized and appreciated by a country founded and built upon those very principles. America all but failed them in their extremity. They were at first, because of the rigidities of the United States immigration and deportation laws, told to “move on”! Numbers in the little quota of one hundred and sixteen for Estonia were exhausted!

Then the public sympathy of America was awakened by the courage and strength of this little band of intrepid men, women, and children. The President reminded the Departments of Justice and of State that they were of the “stuff” that had made this country great. Deportation was stayed by executive order, giving opportunity for action by the Congress, so that these new im-

migrants might later be admitted to permanent residence in the United States.

The human sympathies of public opinion can usually be trusted when there is understanding of the human problems involved. The difficulty of the present immigration situation—in which a cold shoulder is often turned upon the plight of Europe's homeless millions—is that the timid and fearful and reactionary forces in the United States do not wish to face the issue—they lose their perspective, prefer to be blind.

The tremendous postwar challenge that faces the United States and every other country of the world has been powerfully described by Chicago's own Fred K. Hoehler, formerly director of the Division of Displaced Persons of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration:

Left in the wake of the war's devastation were some sixty million men, women, and children who upon the liberation from Axis hands were stranded far from their homes—sixty million weary, sick, starving and lonely people, many of them crippled physically and mentally as a result of cruelties inflicted upon them by the enemy. On V-E Day an estimated twenty million of them were homeless in widely scattered European cities and towns to which they had been taken by the Nazis, or in friendly countries to which they fled for their lives.

“Displaced” signifies far more than mere geographical dislocation. These individuals were displaced not only physically, but socially and economically as well, their problems more serious and varied than those of any large group of migrants in history. The task of helping them back to physical and mental health—and to some semblance of economic security

after years of suffering and insecurity—is one of the greatest responsibilities confronting the United Nations.¹

Social workers are in a position to understand and guide public opinion in this connection and to lead this country to action. The problem is not a distant one but, on the contrary, a very intimate one for social workers everywhere. Even if they have *not* had direct personal contacts abroad as have so many in the war years—through the Red Cross, the U.N.R.R.A., the American Friends Service Committee, the armed forces, or other channels—they have firsthand information, through the friends and relatives who are their clients here, of families abroad. They can make that information count toward international understanding and help for the victims of this unprecedented international disaster.

ALIENS IN THE UNITED STATES IN WARTIME

It took the war to bring home to America the essence of its own population and makeup, likewise of its unity. For the average person the United States Census has never “come alive” as to the numbers of foreign-born—citizens and aliens in this country. The facts as to their percentages have often been distorted by unfriendly spokesmen, anxious to persuade the public that the economic depression was the fault of the *ausländer*, just as there are already signs that “foreigners” may be blamed by unthinking persons for the expected recession.

As the war spread over Europe, measures for alien registration were again pressed upon the Congress of the United States. It had always been feared that

such a system would be used as a weapon against labor and in the direction of wholesale deportations. Social workers had opposed it. But prejudice was at work. Unemployment was still a specter. The Alien Registration Act of 1940 was pushed through the Congress as a wartime emergency measure.

Fortunately, the Attorney-General appointed as director of alien registration under the commissioner of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, the socially minded able lawyer from Philadelphia, Earl G. Harrison (who later became commissioner and still later headed a refugee mission to Europe), who carried out this tremendous human inventory with great wisdom and tact and kindness. It created social problems and greatly added to the alien's need of expert advice in naturalization and citizenship. But it was not misunderstood by the foreign-born, nor was the more detailed “Alien Identification Program” of 1942, after the United States itself was attacked, in which those of the then “enemy alien nationalities” were reregistered. At that time,² the Department of Justice had registered the following numbers of aliens resident in the United States from the three countries which presently declared war upon the United States: Italy, 694,971; Germany, 315,004; Japan, 91,853. The total number of aliens resident in this country at the end of the alien registration of 1940 was found to be 4,741,971. Their chief concentrations were the industrial states of New York, California, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois. The latter, as the fifth state in order, numbered 319,385 resident aliens in 1940. The map issued by the United States Department of Justice at that time is of permanent his-

¹ Fred K. Hoehler, *Europe's Homeless Millions* (“Headline Series”) (New York: Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 22 East Thirty-eighth St.), chap. i, p. 9.

² Press release, U.S. Department of Justice, October 31, 1941.

torical importance. Through the courtesy of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, it is here reproduced for current reference.

This inventory is especially important for social workers in the present situation. The numbers of aliens did not remain static to be sure; far from it. They took out their papers at an unprecedented rate, eager to prove that they

came the immediate neighbor of social workers everywhere in this country. Through them, immediate touch was established with their families and friends left in the countries of the Old World. What happened in Poland and Czechoslovakia, in Germany, Italy, Greece, and each of the other countries abroad was of immediate personal consequence to the residents, and to the clients of every so-

ALIENS IN THE UNITED STATES*

DECEMBER 1940

TOTAL 4,741,971



*Preliminary figures
resulting from Alien
Registration

Department of Justice
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
ALIEN REGISTRATION DIVISION

were not "foreign" in their sympathies, so that Mr. Harrison himself presently found it appropriate to point to the "vanishing alien."³

The inventory is primarily important to social workers in the present immigration-refugee situation because of its fan-like distribution of aliens to each of the forty-eight states. Thus the alien be-

came the immediate neighbor of social workers in every city and town in the United States.

The wartime peak in naturalization was the result of an administrative factor, on the one hand, and of an accumulation of social factors, on the other. First of all, the top figure of 441,979 aliens finally naturalized in one year—1944—is the result of the splendid and determined effort of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service to clear away the accumulated backlog and to become current in handling appli-

³ Earl G. Harrison, commissioner, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, "America Makes Americans," *Social Service Review*, XVIII (September, 1944), 325-32.

cations for United States citizenship. Additional personnel was added for that purpose, and great credit should be given to Earl G. Harrison, former commissioner; to Francis Biddle, former Attorney-General; and to Ugo Carusi, present commissioner.

Interesting statistics reflect their work, as Table 1 will indicate.

TABLE 1*

ALIENS NATURALIZED IN THE
UNITED STATES YEARS END-
ED JUNE 30, 1939—JUNE 30,
1946

Year	Number Aliens Naturalized
1939.....	188,813
1940.....	235,260
1941.....	277,294
1942.....	270,364
1943.....	318,933
1944.....	441,979
1945.....	231,402
1946.....	150,062

* From Official Table No. 22. Statistics furnished December, 1946, by the Department of Justice, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Philadelphia, Pa.

An interesting comment upon the drop in naturalization during the last two years was made by the commissioner in his 1945 *Annual Report*.

The lessened naturalization volume may be accounted for by a number of factors: First, during the last 15 years there was a total of 3,058,436 naturalizations, thus materially reducing the number of aliens remaining in the United States, now estimated to be little more than three million; second, of these remaining aliens many are of the upper age brackets and are reluctant to apply for naturalization; and third, "new" immigration of the last 15 years amounted to but 699,383, with a total of 502,434 emigrant aliens departing from the United States during the same period.⁴

⁴ *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice, Philadelphia, Pa., for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945*, p. 8.

Included in those top naturalization figures are overseas veterans to whom, even in faraway places, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service sent representatives qualified to administer to the foreign-born in the Armed Forces, the oath of allegiance to the United States. Of them, the Attorney-General has said:

Prior to V-J Day over 100,000 aliens were naturalized—from the hedgerows of Normandy to the atolls of the Marianas, on battlefields, in Nissen huts, amid howling blizzards, on lurching ships on the high seas, on hospital sick beds, in cork forests and on the blazing deserts, and many of the newly made citizens made the supreme sacrifice.

That rising tide of naturalization bears an important relationship to family welfare in the immigration situation which immediately developed with the close of the war. For the laws of citizenship and of immigration are completely interwoven with respect to quotas and the various members of the family. The small quotas for countries which have suffered most during the war have already—as after World War I—produced long quota waiting lists of persons hoping to come to the United States. It becomes extremely important to the family, therefore, to take advantage of the special nonquota or preference-quota privileges accorded to certain relatives of *citizens* of the United States.

Under the Amended Immigration Act of 1924, fathers and mothers of *citizens* of the United States who are twenty-one years of age or over, or who are the husbands of *citizens* by marriages occurring after July 1, 1932, are entitled to preference quota immigration status. Wives and unmarried children under twenty-one years of age and husbands of marriages occurring prior to July 1, 1932,

of *citizens* of the United States are entitled to nonquota immigration status.

But, back of the administrative reason for so high a naturalization figure in a single year lies the wartime surge of the foreign-born to belong in legal fact to this country of their choice. The urgent peacetime question, "Am I or am I not a citizen of the United States?" gave place to the even more urgent question, "Am I or am I not an alien of an enemy nationality?" For the social agencies in this particular field, it will always be one of the greatest satisfactions of their whole experience to remember the emergency aid which they gave to the reregistration of aliens who pleaded so passionately to have the "brand" removed—tempered though it was—so that even before they could take the oath of allegiance they might be publicly regarded as "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States." "I'm not German, I'm not German, I'm not German," was the emphatic cry of an Austrian, the first man in the office on the morning after Pearl Harbor. Most frequent among those who came to be reregistered were Austrians, Czechoslovaks, Poles, many with close family ties in conquered countries.

Nor will the agencies soon forget the anxiety of the clients who had been born in Germany and Italy. The men in the families had been naturalized, but frequently *after September 22, 1922*, so that their wives did not thereby acquire citizenship. And they, the mothers of the American-born children, were too busy with family cares to go to school and prepare for the examination. They, the mothers, were left as the lonely aliens in the family and the cause of the family's embarrassment as to travel, the possession of radios, cameras, etc., when the "Pink Book" wartime rulings of the

United States Department of Justice were issued. They, too, came in coteries to "clean up" their own naturalization in the shortest possible time, so as to recover social position in the family, and, likewise, to sit and "hold the hand" of a friendly social agency, not knowing how severe the government meant to be with "aliens of enemy nationality."

During this period the Immigrants' Protective League in Chicago received many letters from all over the United States, asking for clarification of citizenship status. One from Indiana, for instance, written a few months after the United States entered the war, expresses the emotions of such a mother.

**"AM I OR AM I NOT AN ALIEN OF AN
ENEMY NATIONALITY?" FUGITIVE
UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP**

I am almost worrying myself sick, so I am taking the liberty of writing to you. Here is my story. I was born in Germany, came to America at the age of seven with my mother, two sisters, and two brothers. I became a citizen through my father September 27, 1916. Married a man born in Germany in 1918, who died in 1923. Was married again July 10, 1926, to my present husband, who was born in Chicago, whose parents are Americans.

It was a terrible shock to me when I found out in October, 1940, that I had lost my citizenship through marriage and that I haven't been a citizen of the United States since 1918, after having voted all these years. When I went to register the last time, I was refused the right. It was a terrible feeling. Words can't express it. I felt lost. I went back home not knowing what to do. I finally called an attorney, explained the case to him. He informed me that I had the right to vote being that I became a citizen through my father. Then I called the Immigration Department and explained the matter to them. They informed me I was an alien. Then I made a long distance call to the only living relative I know of my deceased husband, and asked if they could find out if he was a citizen of the United States, or if he ever applied for papers. The cousin went to the Court House, called back and informed me there was no record; if he did apply for them, that it would be

in the Court House of another County. I went there by train and finally found out that he only had his first papers. I was then informed that I would have to apply for my second papers, which I did as soon as I got back. Had I been refused the right to register and vote before, I assure you this would never have happened. I would have taken out my second papers years ago.

The United States is the only country I know, it is my country. There are ten in my family, and I am the only one not a citizen. It makes me feel terrible. I was in hopes I would have my second papers before my only son enlisted in the service of our country. I was educated in the schools in Indiana. I have been in this country thirty-four years. Another drawback was that I was late in registering because of my belief that if I applied for my second papers before December 26, 1940, I would not have to register or be fingerprinted. But I soon found out differently when I was called to appear with my witnesses and bring my marriage certificate and the registration card. I handed them the only card I had, and that was certificate of arrival. I was told I should have filled out a green form. I never received one to fill out. It is needless to say what happened then. I could not complete my examination. I was fingerprinted then and have my registration card now. I have phoned and gone down to the post office twice and was down yesterday again. I was informed they are not giving out any papers and didn't know when I would be able to get them.

Often I am asked if I am an enemy alien. I don't know what to say. They tell me I am. But my heart and my conscience tell me I am American. I just can't be anything else, regardless of what I read or what they tell me. Or maybe it is all too deep for me. I will be the happiest person in the United States when I finally get my papers.

It worried me so I just had to write to some one. I am just one of the many who had the misfortune of being born in Germany. For American and America always to the end, like my son and husband and family, who are all in the draft.

Last night while we were listening to our President speak, the phone rang. The voice at the other end asked if we were listening to the radio and what station. Doesn't my husband have a right to the radio? He is an American. I couldn't tell them what station we were listening

to as my husband tuned it in. Before I had a chance to ask him, we were disconnected. My husband said, "What the heck did they want?" and said it was station WBBM. I am wondering why or who did this? I asked her twice who it was, and all I could make out is radio something. I couldn't get the rest.

Proof of United States citizenship for those who went to war was also a service which held families together in spirit and contributed to morale in the training camp, later at the war fronts, and constantly at the family fireside left behind. Was that Polish-born boy in the American Army Air Corps, who had arrived in his mother's arms on the "*Berengaria*" many years ago, just *over* or just *under* twenty-one years of age when his father was naturalized? It was indeed joy for the parents and for the boy if, in the application for derivative citizenship, it was found that he really was, as they so ardently hoped, not quite twenty-one years old when his father became a citizen of this country. A rekindling of family unity resulted from many a naturalization or proof of citizenship that brought all members of the family under one flag—the protective flag of the United States.

This naturalization record is especially impressive with respect to two nationalities. Of that total figure of 441,979, almost one-fourth, 105,995, were Italians. The number of Germans naturalized shot from 17,774 in 1943 to 61,598 in 1944. They are the old immigrants who came years ago to escape an earlier tyranny in the Fatherland. The Italians were equally anxious. They were out of sympathy with the Fascist regime away back in the beginning of the Ethiopian campaign. The Immigrants' Protective League made an observation then, often quoted since: "When Mussolini went into Abyssinia, the Italians in Chicago came to be

naturalized!" It is a triumph for the principles of democracy that such great numbers of nationals of countries at war with the United States *could* be naturalized here, in the very midst of that war. It made those to whom that citizenship was granted passionately loyal to this country.

It was to be expected that the war would affect naturalization all along the line. (a) The right to American passports, if citizenship could be proved, at once spelled safety for those who could thereby escape from threatened countries and return to the United States. (b) Boys of military age abroad, sons of naturalized citizens of the United States, were thereby saved from service in foreign armies, and facilitated in joining their families in this country. (c) Foreign-born sons and daughters of naturalized citizens eagerly sought to clear up their own citizenship status before they went away to war. Enlistment often depended upon it. Applications for certificates of derivative citizenship took a sharp upturn when persons found, perhaps, that they were under twenty-one when their fathers were naturalized. (d) Such an upturn also appeared in applications from all the foreign-born of military age who wished the protection of, as well as the risk for, this country. The record of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service in following them to the war fronts to make sure that the full rights of United States citizenship might be claimed in those dark hours was a great contribution to unity. (e) Alien parents of American-born children likewise pressed to secure certificates of United States citizenship before those children went into the armed forces. Their own occupation in the defense industries, moreover, often depended upon it.

The shining face of a Swiss mother has

been typical of many at the Immigrants' Protective League during the past several years. Her son over there in the American Army was at the gates of her own former country. The League had made out her petition when he went away. She came in to exhibit the precious certificate, her voice ringing with the words, "Now I can write to my boy that I too am an American!"

Depression pressures to naturalization.—But before those questions in enlistment or in defense plants drew the line between citizen and alien, the depression had with heavy hand denied many opportunities for the alien in this country. It had for many, it will be remembered (a) closed the doors to employment, forcing them—the old-timers—to public relief; (b) barred their way into the widening channels of civil service, open only to United States citizens; (c) excluded them from a longer and longer list of trades and professions licensed by the various states; (d) finally, step by step, withdrew even Public Works and W.P.A. occupation from those not full citizens of the United States; (e) and at the end of the economic road, it had often left them stranded entirely outside of many of the benefits of social security legislation, especially the state measures which supplement the federal.

It is only partially gratifying to be able to report as from Illinois that, here and there, aided by the wartime need of unity, some discriminations have been mitigated. In Illinois the old-fashioned Mother's Pension Act at last gave place in 1945 to a more modern Aid to Dependent Children Act, with the citizenship qualifications removed. In 1945 Illinois at last set up in its Old Age Pension Act, a requirement of twenty-five years of continuous residence immediately pre-

ceding application, as an alternative to full United States citizenship.

Such was the front of economic discrimination, civil and military, facing the alien when war was declared. It is small wonder that these closed doors drove the alien to seek United States citizenship in such great volume. Now, as the waters of that flood recede, the ugly rocks of discrimination against the alien begin to stand out again.⁵

He is still needed in the continuing manpower shortage of many of the industries in the United States. Hostility now manifests itself, as of old, on the immigration rather than on the naturalization front. It is only as social workers and other Americans of good will help to lead public opinion out of the old provincial immigration morass that the United States will be able to play its full role in the new world situation.

ORIENTALS AND UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

It was primarily the war and the need of united fronts in the Pacific that finally impelled action in the Congress with respect to naturalization for persons not "free white or of African nativity or descent."

Chinese.—A high wall of exclusion acts barred the Chinese especially from both immigration and naturalization in the United States. The 1943 amendment extended to Chinese eligibility to United States citizenship and authorized an immigration quota. It did not, however, establish for them the same nonquota and preference-quota categories in relation to United States citizenship that were pro-

vided for members of the families of other nationalities. Although this injustice was partly rectified by the Seventy-ninth Congress⁶ in placing Chinese wives of American citizens on a nonquota basis, most unfortunate inequality still exists with respect to children, husbands, and parents. Separation of Chinese families continues on two continents, therefore, partly and directly because of continuing discriminations in the terms of the new acts themselves.

The results of the wartime repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts⁷ are not felt in the statistics of either immigration or naturalization, since the total annual quota established for the Chinese under the National Origins Plan is only one hundred and five persons admissible in any year. But the lift to morale through this long-delayed action, imperfect as it still is, has been very great, both among Chinese residents in the United States and those in the homeland.

Filipinos and East Indians.—Another step in the right direction was taken during the closing days of the Seventy-ninth Congress by similar legislation in behalf of East Indians and Filipinos.⁸ Small immigration quotas are authorized for each under the National Origins Plan provided by the general Immigration Act of 1924 (sec. 11). To each, with certain restrictions, is extended "the right to be-

⁶ *An Act To Place Chinese Wives of American Citizens on a Non-Quota Basis* (Pub. Law No. 713, H.R. 4844 [79th Cong.]), approved August 9, 1946.

⁷ *An Act To Repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts To Establish Quotas and for Other Purposes*. (Pub. Law No. 199, H.R. 3070 [78th Cong.]), approved December 17, 1943.

⁸ *An Act To Authorize the Admission into the United States of Persons of Races Indigenous to India, and Persons of Races Indigenous to the Philippine Islands, To Make Them Racially Eligible for Naturalization and for Other Purposes* (Pub. Law No. 483, H.R. 3517 [79th Cong.]), approved July 2, 1946.

⁵ For further descriptions of discriminations against the alien and some remedies to facilitate naturalization, see Adena M. Rich, "Naturalization and Family Welfare," Part II: "Doors Closed to the Noncitizen," *Social Service Review*, XIV (June, 1940), 237-82.

come a naturalized citizen." The act is explicit as to the definition of these races: "persons who possess either singly or in combination, a preponderance of blood of one or more of the classes specified in Clause (3)," or "as much as one-half blood of those classes and some additional blood of one of the classes specified in Clause (1)." Such language is disquietingly reminiscent of the German pre-war policy of measuring by one-fourth or one-eighth or one-sixteenth the blood of those nationals marked for stigma or destruction.

Again, with respect to nonquota or preference-quota immigration status, the husbands and wives, parents and children are ignored. Filipinos and East Indians are well aware of these inequalities under the laws of the United States, within the "Family of Nations." International friendship will be promoted when they are removed by the Congress.

This legislation with respect to the Filipinos, approved on July 2, 1946, was stimulated by the imminence of the proclamation establishing Philippine independence, fixed for July 4, 1946. Two days before they were to be declared aliens from an independent country—aliens ineligible to United States citizenship and therefore disqualified for the federal civil service positions which they had been holding with distinction—they were at last granted the right to apply for naturalization.

There was not a day's delay on their part. Filipinos in Chicago, where there is a substantial population of several thousand, proceeded at once. Some, indeed, had eagerly filed their declaration of intention even before eligibility for "final papers" was accorded by the Congress. Within two months the first ninety were ready to take the oath of allegiance.

On September 5, 1946, Filipino Day

was announced in the Chicago court of Federal Judge William H. Holly, who made it a historic occasion. The first Filipino women to become naturalized in the United States were among the group. Then this new "nationality" held a "Naturalization Celebration" banquet at night, impressive in its enunciation of what it meant to them and all other "Americans by choice" to become citizens of the United States.

Koreans and Japanese.—From the legislative standpoint, action race by race is piecemeal policy at best. Measures were pending in the last Congress which would have extended similar rights to Koreans. They must now be reintroduced, as must some measure regarding Japanese, who are most eager for the opportunity to demonstrate their fitness for citizenship and their "attachment to the principles of the Constitution of the United States."

A far wiser, more expedient, more statesmanlike approach would be the general removal of all racial discriminations in the immigration and naturalization laws of the United States. Social workers everywhere will do well to promote such a measure. Therein lies proof of the principles for which World War II was waged and a more secure foundation for future peace.

WHAT IS THE IMMIGRATION SITUATION AT CLOSE RANGE?

An international arc of good will.—The close of the war seemed to open a floodgate of sympathy and concern pouring out from the foreign-born in the United States toward relatives and friends in countless little communities abroad. It is as if a great human arc of good will had reached across from America and touched the peoples in war-torn countries. It is not visible to the naked eye;

it does not emanate from diplomats; it manifests itself in a blend of deep anxiety and practical kindness—family to family—through the heart and through the purse.

Never has the immigrant in America been in so favorable a position to extend personal aid. He worked hard and long in the defense plants in order to hasten the end of the war. His stake in victory was high! He heeded the appeals of the United States government to invest any surplus earnings in war bonds. Now he is eager to pledge those bonds as a guaranty of the support of the loved ones whom he wishes to bring to safety and security in the United States. The plain human goodness and generosity toward those who have suffered so much are great qualities to implant in the heart of America. Once more the truth becomes apparent in the observation of Jane Addams: "The immigrants with their parents in the Old World and their children in the New, can give us a fresh line of hope to the vexed problems of juster relations between nations."

When the war ended, there was a momentary hush in the office of the Immigrants' Protective League in Chicago. Then swarms of people began to surge into it. The long lines that had resulted in standing-room only at the peak of naturalization became a tidal wave of new questions following on the heels of war.

Why were there these crowds? They were the families and friends of relatives abroad, anxiously inquiring whether communication had reopened with some spot in Europe, in China, in Japan, in the Philippines; whether mail was acceptable; whether and how money could be sent, or packets of food and clothing; whether renewed searches could be made for lost relatives. Messages were con-

stantly received, either with joyful news that a loved one is alive or that families—sometimes sixty in the group—would never be seen again.

That displaced families are scattered all over the face of the earth was evident in one little group of Polish cases, for instance, in which it was noticed that their whereabouts ranged from Egypt to Karachi, India, to Tanganyika, Africa, to South America. The League was helping to gather these families together again, a process facilitated by the one hundred and twenty displaced-persons camps established in the American Zones of Occupation. The League was asked whether there were boats for civilian bookings, the cost of steamship or airplane tickets; whether an American Consulate had reopened in some specific city in Europe; whether the immigration quota for a specific country had been exhausted—as at present with Greece; who makes the petition for visa and what relatives are entitled to nonquota status; how many sponsors and how much in assets must be scheduled in order to satisfy an American Consul that the prospective immigrant would not "become a public charge" if permitted to enter the United States; where the documents should be sent in support of an application for an immigration visa—to Washington, to Philadelphia, to Europe; whether a homeless child could be adopted and so come to a prospective parent in the United States. These were typical questions which might be in actual fact a matter of life or death.

Locating relatives.—Problems which were primarily of local significance before the war, as, for instance, the locating of the relatives of a newly arrived immigrant in the American community, suddenly became international in scope. Thousands of searches have been initi-

ated here for relatives uprooted from their homes by the war. Tracers have poured out to other countries through the co-operation of the Central Location Index in New York City—a most useful pool of selected national social agencies, supplementing the work of the Displaced Persons Section of U.N.R.R.A., the International Red Cross, the American Friends Service Committee, and other bodies.

And, counterwise, searches have been initiated from points all over the world by lost persons clinging to old addresses, seeking to re-establish their own identity and their contacts with relatives and friends. Theirs is like a "voice crying in the wilderness" for warmth and affection and help. A tribute should be paid to the newspapers in this connection, especially to the foreign press, for their ready assistance in printing articles in behalf of such persons. It is a source of great rejoicing in the office of the Immigrants' Protective League, for instance, when a man or woman walks in with a clipping in hand from a Polish or Lithuanian newspaper and says "I am that uncle" or "I am that niece. What can you tell me of them? How can I help?"

What may be involved in a tracer initiated by parents in Chicago is illustrated by the case of a little boy born in Italy, located and restored to his American parents:

The American Army had landed at Anzio, the German army was retreating back through the mountains of Italy, communications were down. An old friend sent in a father and mother, desperate in fear for the safety of a little son who had been left with his grandfather in Italy. "My friend says the Immigrants' Protective League can do anything!"—were their words of introduction.

There was not an hour to lose. Air mail letters were dispatched in twenty directions through every possible channel, civilian, military, de-

partmental, official, religious and all the new tracing devices. It was remembered that the first chief of the Allied Military Government in Palermo was Colonel Charles Poletti from New York, to whom an especial plea was made.

After three months, the story of the little town of Aquila in the Abruzzi in central Italy could be told. All its inhabitants were taken from their homes by the Germans, placed on trucks with some of their household belongings, and driven north with the retreating army as far as Padua.

It was an American Captain of Infantry who finally reported that the little boy and his grandfather were alive. Tears of anxiety gave place to tears of joy when this news was given the parents. His mother is American born, his father a naturalized citizen of the United States, which gave the boy not automatic United States Citizenship as of old, but non-quota immigration status. As soon as the American Consulate had reopened in Naples, the father was assisted to file a petition for immigration visa for his son,—supported by two citizen witnesses in Chicago routed through the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service and the United States Department of State. Then documentary evidence as to his earnings from the tailoring trade and affidavits of support were prepared and forwarded to the Consul. Shipping facilities were investigated. Three times the father sent money for tickets. Lire proved unacceptable. Finally, the boy arrived on a little American boat in July, 1946, is attending school in Chicago, and rapidly learning to speak to his sister in English, looking like a little gentleman indeed, in his first long trousers.

Repatriation of American-born children.—There is a happy aspect indeed in this postwar picture witnessed at close range—the return of American-born children taken by their parents on visits to their mother-countries before the war and caught there, especially in Italy and Greece. The more articulate Americans were evacuated by the United States Department of State in the early stages of the war. For the foreign-born parents, however, the Immigrants' Protective League gives constant assistance in establishing the American birth and citi-

zenship of children and corresponds with the Passport Division of the United States Department of State in their behalf.

On most of the Atlantic crossings of the mercy ship "Gripsholm," the League has had small parties of mothers and children returning to a citizen-father. Two, for instance, now tall and handsome but thin after their life in Athens, have been assisted to reunion with their parents in Chicago and have entered the University of Chicago Law School. An American-born boy, whose citizen-father died in Greece, has been assisted to return to his uncle in Chicago and is working to save money to bring his mother back. A Greek mother has returned with her American-born children, whose temporary immigration status will now be adjusted by the Immigrants' Protective League. She saved the lives of fourteen American boys, hid them from the invaders, at the cost of punishment to herself, when their bomber was shot down over Greece and they were in desperate need of food and shelter.

Adjustment of immigration status: temporary visitors, students.—Long before the war came to an end the Immigrants' Protective League was busy with the problems arising out of adjustment of immigration status of aliens in the United States. At the request of the former commissioner, Daniel W. McCormick, the League had joined certain national agencies in securing a congressional amendment providing some measure of discretion in deportation.

A section of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 (Title II, sec. 20[c]), known as the "Smith Act," makes possible executive and congressional review with suspension of deportation of certain aliens by the Attorney-General, "if not

racially inadmissible or ineligible to naturalization in the United States, if he finds that such deportation would result in serious economic detriment to a citizen or legally resident alien, who is the *spouse, parent, or minor child* of such deportable alien."

It will quickly be noted that this rigid little section does not benefit many of those to whom discretion should be extended. For many, the costly, needless trip across the border out of the country and back again is the only way in which an immigration status may be changed on the books from temporary to permanent. There is the experience of a Polish chemist needed in the war effort whose temporary permit was prejudicial to family welfare:

Departure and re-entry in the quota for Poland was the only way in which a Polish chemist might remain in the United States. She was a visitor here on a mission from her country when it was invaded. Quickly she offered her skilled services in the chemical industry, frantic to do all in her power to help end the war. For she heard that the German Army had taken her husband in Warsaw, and she felt sure that he could not survive; that the Russian Army had taken her two young sons, who were in the country, to a camp in Siberia. She could not speak without weeping. The Polish Government-in-Exile had established friendly contact, however, with the Russian Army. That government evacuated the boys, first, to the Polish Refugee Camp in Karachi, then, to "Colonia Santa Rosa" in Mexico.

Then began three years of effort to bring the boys to their mother in Chicago. First, the mother was assisted—shielded on every count with papers proving that she would not become a public charge—to enter Canada and to return to the United States, then to secure her declaration of intention to become an American citizen.

The United States Department of State advised that quota numbers would be available for the two boys but that visas could not be issued without exit permits from the Mexican government. The Mexican government said

that the boys were out of its jurisdiction, inasmuch as the refugee camp was under the direction of the Polish Government-in-Exile. The Polish Government-in-Exile said that the boys' entry into the United States was a matter for this country to settle. A three-way vicious circle was set up—stalemating human considerations. The mother spent her savings and went to Mexico to visit her sons.

When the German Army was driven out of Poland by the Russians, there was a change in the policy of the Polish-Government-in Exile. Polish passports were furnished to the boys, visaed by the American Consul, and they were permitted at last to join their mother in Chicago.

At this time it was heard that the father, who had been given up as lost, had been hiding in the ruins of Warsaw and was trying to organize a milk-supply route to aid his countrymen. There is now great pressure for places in the quota of 6,524 for Poland. But by good fortune in this case, this marriage took place prior to July 1, 1932. When this wife secures her final citizenship papers within the current year, her husband will be entitled to nonquota immigration status and can also be brought to join his family here.

It is well that the suspension of deportation provision was secured before the United States entered the war. Certain refugees had escaped to the United States from Germany before that time. It would not have been possible for them to enter a border country and to return to the United States in order to adjust immigration status after war was declared. Inadequate as it is, the Smith Act has helped to preserve family life here.

The suspension of deportation proceeding was employed, for instance, in behalf of two German nationals, whose lives would have been lost had they been compelled to return to their country of birth.

One is a fair-haired girl from Oberammergau, Catholic as to religion, who came to Chicago to study music on temporary student immigration status, marrying another student during her sojourn here. When Germany began

its offensive, she found herself cut off from her family and completely out of sympathy with the Nazi regime. Funds to continue studies were strained. But her husband is a citizen and, now, with the League's aid, she has been through the "immigration mill," her status has been made permanent, and she will follow her profession, singing in churches in America.

The other is a Jewish mother of a little American-born son—whose father, a Gentile, was lost in Germany—held for deportation because her permit expired. Closely watched over by the League, she has met economic and other difficulties with great heroism. Now, at last, the United States Immigration Service seems as happy as the League, that deportation has been avoided under the Smith Act and that this self-supporting mother and child are able to settle down with adequate food and shelter in the United States.

There is also the picturesque case, in which the same Act has applied, of a farmer whose products are highly desired by the American community.

The African son of an old chieftain, now surrounded by a family of little American-born children, had been caught by the depression after helping with an exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair. He had always meant to return to head the tribe in Sierra Leone, but there was no one to finance the trip back during the depression. Then the war came. Now that Africa is at last at peace, he no longer worries about his old home. The League assisted him to adjust his immigration status and to take out his naturalization papers. He is happy now to settle down on his little chicken farm in Illinois to "raise food for the people in Chicago."

INADEQUACIES OF "ADJUSTMENT" LEGISLATION

Something more is needed with respect to students and visitors to the United States, however, than the Smith Act provides. In the first place, they are reluctant deliberately to abandon student status, to let their permits expire in order to become subject to deportation, or to submit to the suspension procedure and later congressional review. They feel

a sense of both embarrassment and stigma. They beg, instead, that special bills be introduced in the Congress so that they may be individually permitted to remain without having charges placed against them. Unless the Congress enacts more adequate adjustment of status legislation, large numbers of such special measures are foreseen. Bills for the relief of individual persons are a wasteful method of federal legislation, especially when the groups for which they are intended are so well recognized. For example, the Smith Act does not help these two able young women in Chicago, whose situation well illustrates the need of a general amendment making possible the change from temporary to permanent immigration status without departure from the country.

A Chinese physician.—A brilliant Chinese physician, who came to the United States as a medical student and who has made an enviable record here, cannot practice medicine without United States citizenship. But she cannot apply for naturalization without a permanent entry into the United States. The Smith Act does not apply, since she has no husband or child to whom her departure would be "economic detriment." The quota for Chinese is oversubscribed, especially for those outside of China, inasmuch as 75 per cent of that little quota is reserved for persons resident in China. Such a restriction is not set up for Europeans under their quotas. It is an inequality which works great hardship upon the Chinese.

The professional services of this young woman are in great demand, especially among her countrymen. She should be permitted to apply for a certificate of registry, even though her arrival was subsequent to July 1, 1924, be granted the next available quota number, and apply for United States citizenship without the expensive futile process of leaving this country and making a re-entry.

A Russian Nurse.—A nurse, rescued from the Philippines, had lived in Chicago as a girl

from 1913-17. She had been born in Russia, was brought to the United States by her parents, who had settled and later died in Chicago. She returned to Odessa and Warsaw, married a Polish subject, who was killed during the Russian Revolution. Then she went to France and later to Indo-China, practicing her profession of nursing. She was in the Philippines when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, immediately enlisted her services in the American Red Cross, was stationed in a hospital in Manila caring for Americans. When the Islands were captured by the Japanese, she spent six months in the concentration camp at Santo Tomas, there, too, caring for the sick and wounded. As liberation drew near and the camp was under cross-fire from both armies, she and her patients, crouching to escape it, dragged themselves into the forest, expecting momentarily, as the "left-overs," to be exterminated by the Japanese. "But then," she says, "the Americans came."

The American Army insisted that she be evacuated to the United States. She is here on a temporary immigration permit—back in the city of her girlhood—serving as a hospital aid. Extension of her permit has been denied. The Immigrants' Protective League is assisting in the adjustment of her immigration status to a permanent basis, which will mean pre-examination and a trip out of the country, a wasteful procedure both for her and for the Government. When she returns she will be able to become a citizen of the United States, which she has served so well and feels is her home again at last.

The whole complicated, expensive adjustment of status procedure could be simplified by an amendment to the registry provisions of the Nationality Code (sec. 328). Under this act, persons of good moral character, not subject to deportation, whose residence has been continuous but whose record of entry was temporary or is irregular, are permitted, *if they arrived in the United States prior to July 1, 1924*, to file applications for certificates of registry, appear *nunc pro tunc* for examination before an immigration inspector, have a date of entry established, be charged to the quota of

the country of birth as a permanent resident of the United States, and so become eligible to apply for naturalization.

A simple amendment striking out this old fixed date, which has become an outworn shibboleth, would eliminate these futile border crossings which must be undertaken in order to establish a record of permanent entry.

FACTS AS TO RECENT IMMIGRATION

Excess of emigrants over immigrants, 1932-35.—The whole subject of immigration has taken on new interest since the war. With it, however, old prejudices reappear; misrepresentations as to the facts are again taking place. It is too quickly forgotten that during the depression the tide of migration was out rather than into the United States and that immigrants, generally speaking, do not seek to enter this country unless economic conditions are favorable. During the four years 1932-35 the numbers of emigrant aliens departed far exceeded the numbers of immigrant aliens admitted; 1936, with returning prosperity in the United States, was the turning-point in immigration. It was checked again when the United States entered the war in 1941. Table 2, showing immigrant aliens admitted and emigrant aliens departed during recent years, together with net increase or decrease, will serve as a timely authentic reference in the present situation.

The President's directive.—Immigration has to some extent been affected by the President's directive of December 22, 1945, in which he reminded the country of the "unspeakable human distress" in other countries and set up an Inter-departmental Committee to facilitate immigration processes within existing quotas. He ordered that special consideration be shown to "orphaned chil-

dren to whom it is hoped the majority of visas will be issued" and that visas shall "be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds and nationalities. . . . I consider that common decency and the fundamental comradeship of all human beings," he said, "require us to do what lies within our power to see that our established immigration quotas are *used* in order to reduce further suffering."

TABLE 2*

IMMIGRANT AND EMIGRANT ALIENS
Net Increase or Decrease for Years Ended
June 30, 1931-June 30, 1946

Year	Immigrant Aliens Admitted	Emigrant Aliens Departed	Net Increase or Decrease
1931.....	97,139	61,882	35,257
1932.....	35,576	103,295	67,719-
1933.....	23,068	80,081	57,013-
1934.....	29,470	39,771	10,301-
1935.....	34,956	38,834	3,878-
1936.....	36,329	35,817	512
1937.....	50,244	26,736	23,508
1938.....	67,895	25,210	42,685
1939.....	82,998	26,651	56,347
1940.....	70,756	21,461	49,295
1941.....	51,776	17,115	34,661
1942.....	28,781	7,363	21,418
1943.....	23,725	5,107	18,618
1944.....	28,551	5,669	22,882
1945.....	38,119	7,442	30,677
1946.....	108,721	18,143	90,578

* Statistics furnished 1946 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice, Philadelphia, Pa.

As American consulates were reopened, especially in occupied territory and displaced-persons camps established, visa issuance was resumed. Through the Inter-Departmental Committee, composed of representatives of the State, War, and Justice departments, the War Shipping Administration, and the United States Public Health Service, under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Ugo Carusi, some twenty to twenty-five members of the Immigration and Naturalization Service were detailed for work

at consulates, have served as "temporary vice-consuls," made the "immigration inspections," and "assisted consular officers of the Department of State in connection with the issuance of visas." Measured in human terms of rescue, however, the work of this Inter-Departmental Committee is proceeding very slowly. Some few displaced persons, petitioned for so eagerly by relatives, have arrived in the United States.

Welcoming new immigrants.—The province of the United States Department of Justice and its Immigration and Naturalization Service lies especially, of course, with aliens here in the United States. A friendly policy of welcoming these new immigrants after their arrival has been initiated by this service in co-operation with educational and social agencies. All over the United States the Immigration and Naturalization Service is asking boards of education to invite the newcomers into adult classes as preparation for United States citizenship, furnishing lists by name and address, country, age, sex, marital status, and occupation. In Chicago the Adult Education Department has extended ready co-operation and has enrolled many of those who have recently arrived in the city.

In addition, the government requested the Immigrants' Protective League, which is the nonsectarian agency in Chicago devoted to special service to the alien and the foreign-born, to enlist the interest of neighborhood centers and other institutions in befriending these newcomers. Following a conference of welfare agencies called by the League at the district office of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, the government's plan was warmly indorsed and accepted. That it is now in action is illustrated by the program of

the Young Women's Christian Association and the English-Speaking Union, to which the League has especially referred the war brides. Clubs for overseas wives, classes in English, receptions and teas, tours of places of interest in Chicago, are current aspects of their activities. To date, during 1946, the lists referred by the government in Chicago have totaled 3,331 names of persons who have come to homes, to relatives, to friends, or to employers, by whom they have been anxiously awaited. The joy in these long-delayed reunions of wives and husbands, parents and children, is one of the avenues through which countries working together in the immigration field may help to "bind up the wounds of war."

War brides.—Among these three thousand newcomers in Chicago, a large proportion—1,475—are war brides. Many have been known to the Immigrants' Protective League before their arrival through the families of their veteran husbands.

A boy serving in Iceland, for instance, appealed through his parents, who came up from a small town in downstate Illinois, to consult the League regarding affidavits for his wife in Reykjavik.

A mother-in-law asked the League's help in bringing her son's wife from Cristobal. She is a young Irish girl, born in Costa Rica, whom the son met while stationed with the United States Air-Corps in the Canal Zone. The mother pledged all her own earnings at a good factory in behalf of the young wife.

Another mother, at the suggestion of the Immigration Service, brought her son's wedding picture, sent from England, to explain that the family approved of his beautiful young wife, wished to have her come and live with them until he returned. There was joy shining in their happy faces.

An American-born soldier, who had been taken back to Russia as an infant by his parents and who had spent most of his life there, came

to the League in great haste, on a brief furlough between active service in Alaska and a new assignment in the American Army, to ask how he might bring his Russian-born wife and child from the much fought-over territory of old Russian Poland. Records in the little town in Russia were bombed out with its church, but the wife and child were alive. The League did not rest until their identity was proved and they could come to the boy's aunt to await his own return.

Another veteran, invalided home from the Air Corps in the Pacific, came all the way from his farm at Ottawa, Illinois, to introduce his New Zealand bride, for whom the League had made out the papers.

Former homes of war brides who arrived in Chicago during 1946 are represented by fifty different countries, colonies, or dependencies, as indicated in the following interesting list: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Eire, Estonia, France, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Germany—as British—Australia, Bermuda, Canada, East Indies, England, Egypt, Fiji, India, Northern Ireland, Island of Malta, New Zealand, Nigeria, Palestine, Scotland, Trinidad, Wales—Greece, Holland, Java, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Manchuria, Mexico, Norway, Philippine Islands, Poland, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey.

Such a roll call of so many countries of the world is eloquent evidence of the far-flung places in which American soldiers fought for the defense of their own homeland. And now America's armies have come back—world-minded, aware of unlikeness among races, impatient of superficial inequalities, alert to the intrinsic character of different peoples, demanding international relationships which will make war impossible. Among them, the subject of immigration must find a sound international answer.

The coming of these overseas wives, children, and fiancées was facilitated by two brief acts of Congress immediately following the war, both of which were curtailed in their operation, however, when the President proclaimed the end of hostilities at noon on December 31, 1946.⁹

THE QUOTA SITUATION

Validation of unused quotas.—Emergency action which would cut short clumsy procedures could likewise be taken in behalf of refugees before it is too late. But the desperate situation of displaced persons abroad could be appreciably relieved, even within America's fixed-quota system of immigration control, if unused quotas were at once pooled and validated by the Congress. Incoming immigrants would still be strictly controlled as to type and ability to maintain themselves under the Selective System, likewise in effect under the immigration laws of the United States.

The fact that quotas do not carry over from year to year stops many a family in its plans to bring loved ones to their homes in this country. To let quota numbers die may mean the death of human beings as well. It seems reasonable and obvious and eminently just that the equivalent of the quota numbers unused during the war and the depression should now be made available to persons who might have come to the United States within the quota, years ago.

The shifting quota base.—The exact situation which has developed since the

⁹ *An Act To Expedite the Admission to the United States of Alien Spouses and Alien Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces* (Pub. Law No. 271, H.R. 4857 [79th Cong.]), approved December 28, 1945; *An Act To Facilitate the Admission into the United States of the Alien Fiancées or Fiancés of Members of the Armed Forces of the United States* (Pub. Law No. 471, S. 2122 [79th Cong.]), approved June 29, 1946.

present Immigration Act of 1924 went into effect appears in the accompanying table of annual quotas and quota immigrants admitted, drawn from mate-

TABLE 3*

ANNUAL QUOTAS AND TOTAL QUOTA IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED FISCAL YEARS ENDED
JUNE 30, 1925—JUNE 30, 1946

Year	Total Annual Quota	Quota Immigrants Admitted†	Unused Quotas
1925.....	164,667	145,971	18,696
1926.....	164,667	157,432	7,235
1927.....	164,667	158,070	6,597
1928.....	164,667	153,231	11,436
1929.....	164,667	146,918	17,749
1930†.....	153,714	141,497	12,217
1931†.....	153,774	54,118	99,656
1932†.....	153,774	12,983	140,791
1933†.....	153,774	8,220	145,554
1934†.....	153,774	12,483	141,291
1935†.....	153,774	17,207	136,567
1936†.....	153,774	18,675	135,099
1937†.....	153,774	27,762	126,012
1938†.....	153,774	42,494	111,280
1939†.....	153,774	62,402	91,372
1940†.....	153,774	51,997	101,777
1941†.....	153,774	36,220	117,554
1942†.....	153,774	14,597	139,177
1943†.....	153,774	9,045	144,729
1944§.....	153,879	9,394	144,485
1945§.....	153,879	11,623	142,256
1946§.....	153,879	29,095	124,784
Total.....			2,116,304

* "Annual Quota 1925-29, 164,667 established by the President's Proclamation of June 30, 1924 (43 Stat. 1958)."

† "Annual Quota established by the President's Proclamation No. 2283 of April 28, 1938 (52 Stat. 1544) plus the Chinese quota of 105 and quota for the Philippine Islands of 50."

‡ Annual Report of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service for the Year Ended June 30, 1929, p. 64; 1934, p. 58; 1935, p. 84.

§ Annual Report of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service for the Year Ended June 30, 1943, p. 3; 1944, Table 6, p. 3. "On February 8, 1944, a quota of 105 was added for Chinese, bringing the Total to 153,879."

§ Information furnished December, 1946. Monthly Labor Review, Vol. II, No. 12 (June, 1945), Table 5, p. 158; and Report of the Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice (Philadelphia, Pa., 1946), Table 5, p. 62.

rials especially made available by the United States Department of Justice.

The table does not include the picture under the first Quota Act of May 19, 1921—which expired on June 30, 1924—which had set up quotas based upon 3 per cent of the foreign-born of the vari-

ous nationalities resident in the United States as of the 1910 Census.¹⁰ This "Three Percentum Act" had resulted in a total quota of 357,803 immigrants who might be admitted annually. The later act represents drastic reduction.

As will be seen from this table, the total annual quota, under the Immigration Act of 1924, based at first on 2 per cent of the 1890 Census population of the United States¹⁰ amounted to 164,667. Under the same act, however, there was provided a National Origins Plan for quotas based on ratios to the 1920 Census population. After five years of work by a presidential commission, the quota board of experts reported; and by presidential proclamation on March 22, 1929, "for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1929," the system of National Origins quotas went into effect, with the total quota fixed at that time at 153,714.¹⁰

The National Origins quotas, with certain revisions arising out of boundary changes and new legislation, resulting at present in a total annual quota of 153,879, have been applied since that time.¹⁰ Even with the shifting basis for immigration quotas, however, and even with the shrinking annual quota, a reservoir of unused quotas exists as will be noted, which, as a reconstruction and rehabilitation measure, should be made available by the Congress for present use. The welfare of the United States has become dependent upon the welfare of the other countries in this "One World."

Pooling of wanted and unwanted quotas.

—A second principle which would alleviate the plight of peoples most severely affected by the war would be the pool-

¹⁰ Information furnished December 1946, Monthly Labor Review, Vol. II, No. 12 (June, 1945), Table 5, p. 158; and Report of the Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice (Philadelphia, Pa., 1946), Table 5, p. 62.

ing of National Origins quotas for at least a given period, so that those who need and wish to come, may make use of the places of those who do not wish to come. In most years, for instance, only about 7 per cent is used of the total annual quota of 65,721 for Great Britain. For other countries, quota waiting lists have again begun to grow, as after World War I.

In countries where quota places are in great demand, as at present in Greece and Italy, it becomes highly important to families here whose reunion has been long delayed by the war, to make pre-war visa petitions "stand up" at American consulates abroad, so that relatives may be high rather than low on the quota waiting lists. New postwar affidavits of support, showing the financial ability of relatives here, are sent in support of the original applications for visas. When consular records are found to have been destroyed, as in certain countries abroad, carbon copies in the case-record files of an agency like the Immigrants' Protective League become primary evidence of those applications, upon which rests present consular decision as to whether a son or daughter now beyond nonquota age, may be given an early place in the regular quota.

Just what has taken place in the fulfillment of quotas to the United States, country by country, since the German aggressions spread across Europe in 1939, with peoples driven from their homes and wandering in search of new homes, will be seen from Table 4. To certain countries especially, the United States may be said to "owe" a considerable number of unused quota places. These facts as to specific countries are of immediate interest to their countrymen in the United States, sympathetic to their reluctance, as in the

case of Poland, to return to their countries of origin.

National Origins Plan out of date.—In the allotment of quotas, the Immigration Act of 1924 prescribes that "nationality shall be determined by country of birth" (sec. 12a). But the question of what is country of birth is often extremely difficult to determine. Political boundaries may not truly fix the national origins of prospective immigrants. A Pole born in Germany does not regard himself as German, nor does a Greek born in Istanbul regard himself as Turkish, even though the immigration law of the United States may so assign him.

The United States Department of State is authority for the observation that one-seventh of the population of Europe changed sovereignty after World War I. All the changes in political boundaries which will follow World War II will also affect National Origins quotas. The National Origins idea has become a fetish in the United States but is now wholly outdated, unrealistic, inconsistent, both with modern events and with the historic conquests and migrations of European countries. For, the blood of a people or race does not remain in pools within geographical boundaries against which any immigration ratio to America's population strains may be accurately measured. The myth of racial superiorities led the world into war. America will promote her own ultimate safety by eliminating all vestiges of that myth in her own domestic legislation.

DISPLACED PERSONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Testimony from U.N.R.R.A.—Happily, the United States is not alone in its responsibility of caring for the civilian victims of the war. It is evident, however, that it cannot escape leadership in this

TABLE 4*
ANNUAL QUOTAS AND QUOTA IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED—FISCAL YEARS ENDED
JUNE 30, 1939—JUNE 30, 1946

"QUOTA NATIONALITY"	ANNUAL QUOTA† 1925-29	PRESENT ANNUAL QUOTA‡	QUOTA IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED							
			1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
All Countries....	164,667	153,879	62,402	51,997	36,220	14,597	9,045	9,394	11,623	29,095
Europe.....	161,422	150,501	61,535	51,141	35,316	14,147	8,714	8,983	11,042	27,839
Albania.....	100	100	97	88	7	1	3	10		
Austria§.....	785	1,413§								833§
Belgium.....	512	1,304	307	444	1,172	416	204	128	81	380
Bulgaria.....	100	100	105	92	102	14	8	20	9	28
Czechoslovakia..	3,073	2,874	2,716	1,979	1,787	508	362	323	276	964
Danzig, Free City of.....	228	100	177	100	40	13	6	9		
Denmark.....	2,789	1,181	282	255	318	107	132	106	98	259
Estonia.....	124	116	107	98	63	27	18	27	16	113
Finland.....	471	569	461	282	355	58	99	63	53	172
France.....	3,954	3,086	850	770	1,858	1,084	504	220	184	1,554
Germany§.....	51,227	25,957	32,759	26,083	13,051	4,883	1,276	1,324	1,189	3,634
Great Britain and Northern Ire- land.....	34,007	65,721	3,426	3,141	4,257	1,495	1,724	2,303	5,106	8,701
Greece.....	100	307	381	346	232	199	301	287	218	291
Hungary.....	473	869	1,087	1,432	584	284	163	212	117	488
Iceland.....	100	100	5	6	9	10	10	26	43	69
Irish Free State..	28,567	17,853	1,418	966	331	161	196	123	232	546
Italy.....	3,845	5,802	4,161	3,971	690	59	67	160	268	1,262
Latvia.....	142	236	223	184	171	105	62	62	43	180
Lithuania.....	344	386	305	294	232	126	117	93	78	215
Luxembourg.....	100	100	24	24	85	97	23	2	11	14
Netherlands.....	1,648	3,153	670	1,140	1,175	235	222	259	152	434
Norway.....	6,453	2,377	465	456	448	100	102	176	100	300
Poland.....	5,982	6,524	6,512	4,354	4,406	2,203	1,533	1,338	1,122	4,144
Portugal.....	503	440	404	417	316	143	203	380	421	420
Rumania.....	603	377	499	469	286	282	220	230	215	349
Spain.....	131	252	253	225	265	175	255	241	182	238
Sweden.....	9,561	3,314	324	411	285	111	94	80	57	288
Switzerland.....	2,081	1,707	605	617	759	235	121	46	52	237
Turkey.....	100	226	213	186	107	115	107	178	156	188
U.S.S.R.....	2,248	2,712	1,772	1,647	1,612	732	426	389	372	938
Yugoslavia.....	671	845	850	651	238	107	90	167	177	547
Other Southern and Eastern Europe.....	400	400	17	13	15	2	6	1	14	53
Asia.....	1,424	1,528	587	549	532	257	191	214	388	710
Africa.....	1,200	1,200	78	99	162	97	63	47	71	269
Pacific.....	621	650	202	208	210	96	77	150	122	277

* Information furnished, December, 1946. *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. II, No. 12 (June, 1945), Table 5, p. 158; and *Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Justice* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1946), Table 5, p. 62.

† Annual Quota established by the President's Proclamation of June 30, 1924 (43 Stat. 1958), based on 2 per cent of the 1890 Census population.

‡ Annual Quota established by the President's Proclamation No. 2283 of April 28, 1939 (52 Stat. 1544), plus the Chinese quota of 105 and quota for the Philippine Islands of 50, based on National Origins Plan, 1920 Census population.

§ For the fiscal years 1938 to 1945 the "Austrian quota was included in the quota for Germany."

direction. Because he is in a unique position to have witnessed the situation in other countries, the words of the first director-general of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, are timely and important.

We should call upon Congress to enact legislation permitting us to welcome, without regard to race, religion or national origin, our fair share—even more than our fair share—of the pitiable victims of an unparalleled disaster. . . . I believe that with our leadership other countries will do their share—without it they will do little or nothing.

From the Social and Economic Council.—In his first yearly report to the Secretary of State in August, 1946, the American representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, former Ambassador John G. Winant, outlined as one of the two "most urgent tasks before the Council, . . . the repatriation or resettlement of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and refugees." The General Assembly of the United Nations had recommended to its Economic and Social Council on February 12, 1946, that it appoint a committee to study the problems of refugees and displaced persons.

It is the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations, in fact, that has since sponsored the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.); that in October, 1946, approved the draft constitution of this body and defended it in the debate in the General Assembly. It is encouraging to note that its draft constitution with some seventy amendments was approved by the United Nations General Assembly before its adjournment in December, 1946.

From the United States Department of State.—"The purpose of the I.R.O.," says George L. Warren, adviser to the United

States Department of State,¹¹ "is to provide one central organization which will undertake repatriation, care and maintenance, and resettlement of Displaced Persons."

From the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service.—Careful, statesmanlike study has been given to the need for such an intergovernmental agency also by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service¹² under the chairmanship of Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain, professor of law at Columbia University. "By reason of the scope of its charter and the international recognition by governments," the council finds that "the United Nations is the logical body to sponsor, develop and maintain such an intergovernmental agency."

In a comprehensive report on *The Problem of Displaced Persons*, issued in June, 1946, the Survey Committee on Displaced Persons, of which Earl G. Harrison¹³ was chairman, outlined with care the powers which should be given to such a governmental agency.

1. To protect, maintain, to prepare for resettlement and transport of persons within its mandate so far as this may be necessary and practicable;
2. To establish and operate a world wide Tracing Service for purposes of location and reunion of families;
3. To negotiate with governments with respect to settlement and resettlement of Stateless Persons and Non-Repatriable Displaced Persons;
4. To negotiate with governments for the legal protection of such persons;
5. To cooperate with governmental, intergovernmental, and voluntary agencies con-

¹¹ Release No. 816, United States Department of State, November 15, 1946.

¹² 122 East Twenty-second St., New York City 20, New York.

¹³ Now dean of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania.

cerned with the interests and welfare of persons within its mandate;

6. To receive funds from governments, and disburse such funds in accordance with its financial regulations, and also to receive for special projects designated funds from private sources.¹⁴

Here is a program of action which will be recognized by social workers at once as practical and, as to type, familiar in their local communities. Here, however, matters of domicile and residence become international in scope, with appropriate administrative authority. The selection of the United States as the permanent headquarters of the United Nations will give the social workers of this country an opportunity more easily to use their influence and service experience in helping to bring about this broader international program of public welfare.

Speed is necessary if families and lives are to be saved. Immediate action by the Congress of the United States is of paramount importance. Other countries, as the new Philippine ambassador has just reasserted, regard the United States, which suffered no physical devastation during the war, as "the richest and most powerful country on earth." There is full employment, even certain manpower shortage; food is abundant. The United States will find itself in a dangerous position unless it comes to the rescue of the peoples of those countries less fortunate.

Politics must be laid aside; minds and hearts must reach out to meet human need on this world scale. Public support

must be strengthened for the efforts of the United States Department of State in this connection. Broader, more understanding interpretation must be given to the work of American delegates to the United Nations, toward rehabilitation of displaced persons. It should not require courage on the part of the President of the United States to speak out in their behalf.

There are social workers resident in many of the constituencies of the representatives and senators in the new Congress. Let them rally now, to secure legislation which will lift this country to its proper position of leadership in humanitarian affairs.

Message of the President.—The President of the United States pointed the way in his message at the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly last October in these words:

The assembly now has before it for adoption the constitution of another specialized agency in this field—the international refugee organization. It is essential that this organization be created in time to take over from the U.N.R.R.A. as early as possible in the new year the tasks of caring for and repatriating or resettling the refugees and displaced persons of Europe. There will be similar tasks of great magnitude in the Far East. The United States considers this a matter of great urgency in the cause of restoring peace and in the cause of humanity itself.

I intend to urge the Congress of the United States to authorize this country to do its full part, both in financial support of the international refugee organization and in joining with other nations to receive those refugees who do not wish to return to their former homes for reasons of political or religious belief.

Let social workers in all the states now rise and take action.

IMMIGRANTS PROTECTIVE LEAGUE
CHICAGO

¹⁴ *The Problem of the Displaced Person: Report of the Survey Committee on Displaced Persons of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service* (122 East Twenty-second St., New York 10, N.Y., June, 1946), p. 72.

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK IN CINCINNATI

ELLERY F. REED

SINCE the closing of the last school of social work in Cincinnati in 1938 social agencies in this city have reported an increasing problem of securing qualified personnel. The situation has been particularly aggravated in the public agencies which suffer residence restrictions in the employment of staff members. A study was recently completed to determine the extent of the problem of education for social work in Cincinnati and its best solution. This study undertook particularly to answer the question whether there should be established again in this community an accredited graduate school of social work. Since there have been two previous efforts to establish such a school in this city, it was felt that a third attempt should not be made without thorough study and convincing evidence in favor of such a project. A brief statement of some of the findings and conclusions of the study is here presented.¹

MEASURING THE NECESSARY AMOUNT OF EDUCATION

In the effort to determine the present status of professional education among social workers in Cincinnati and their attitude toward the problem, several questionnaires were submitted to agency executives and to social workers themselves. Executives were asked, first, to rate the professional positions in their respective agencies with reference to the

amount of education which they considered necessary for effective performance of the duties involved and, second, to classify the incumbents of those positions as to whether or not they possessed the degree of education indicated as needed.

Forty-two executives classified a total of 493 positions as follows: 42 positions were rated as needing "some college work including several undergraduate courses in the social sciences"; 34 positions as needing "full college work regardless of the courses in the social sciences"; 54 as needing "full college work including a major in some social science"; 119 as needing "full college work including a major in some social science plus some appropriate undergraduate courses in social service"; 80 as needing "full college work including a major in some social science plus *one year of graduate work* in a recognized school of social work"; and 164 positions as needing "full college work including a major in some social science plus *two years of graduate work* in a recognized school of social work."² Thus, 244 positions, or fewer than half, were rated by the executives as needing one or more years of graduate education.

The agencies rating some or all of their positions as not needing any graduate education were as follows: Association for the Welfare of the Blind, Better Housing League, Child Guidance Home, Citizenship Council, Goodwill Industries, League for the Hard of Hearing, Red Cross, Salvation Army, Shoemaker Clinic, Travelers' Aid Society, Aid for Aged,

¹ The full report, entitled *Education for Social Work in Cincinnati: A Study of the Problem*, by Ellery F. Reed, was published in July, 1946, by the Research Department of the Community Chest of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, 312 West Ninth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

² Table I-A in the full report of the study gives in detail how each agency rated its positions.

Cincinnati General Hospital Social Service Department, Hamilton County Juvenile Court, Hamilton County Adult Probation Department, Cincinnati Public Welfare Department, Camp Fire Girls, Cincinnati Boys' Clubs, Girl Scouts, National Catholic Community House, Salvation Army, Santa Maria Institute, Union Bethel, Y.W.C.A., and Public Recreation Commission. It will be noted that 9 of the above-listed agencies were in the group-work field. In fact, only one group-work agency listed all its positions as requiring graduate work.

Some questions might be raised and sharp difference of opinion might prevail as to the classification of some of these positions both with respect to the amount of education needed and as to whether some positions should be classified as "professional social work positions." However, since there are no exact definitions or criteria with respect to such matters, it was felt that, with some general instruction to executives, such classification and ratings must be left to them. The instructions were that "professional positions for the purpose of this study are those involving responsibilities directly or indirectly for treatment of clients or for carrying out the main purposes of the agency." With regard to the degree of education considered as needed for the various positions the instruction was: "Positions should be classified in terms of reasonable standards, not in terms of what existing limitations make necessary." The general query on the questionnaire itself was: "How many positions do you have in your agency, including that of chief executive, either filled or vacant at present, which you consider should be filled by persons having social work training in the various degrees specified below?"

There was not entire uniformity

among the executives in the types of positions included in their questionnaire reports. The Cincinnati Children's Home, for example, included no institutional positions but only its case-work staff; while the Salvation Army included several institutional positions. The Salvation Army executive explained that he had included, for instance, the women in charge of the residents at the Catherine Booth Home because these women, while not expected to do any case work, nevertheless needed a good general comprehension of the social and psychological problems of unmarried mothers and, therefore, needed at least "some college work including several undergraduate courses in the social sciences."

The social work positions of every classification were filled in considerable part by incumbents not having as much education as the executives felt was needed. Even in the positions rated lowest as to educational requirements, "those needing some college work including several undergraduate courses in the social sciences," only 14 of the 42 positions were filled by incumbents having this much education. In the next classification, "full college work regardless of courses in the social sciences," 24 of the 34 positions were filled by persons having this much education. Of those requiring "full college work including a major in some social science," 25 positions out of the 54 were filled satisfactorily. In the next classification, "full college work including a major in some social science plus some appropriate undergraduate courses in social service," 46 of the 119 positions were filled by persons having such education.

For the one- and two-year graduate requirements, respectively, 50 out of 80 positions and 74 out of 164 positions were satisfactorily filled educationally. Thus,

approximately one-half (124 out of 244) of the positions classified by executives as needing one or two years of graduate work were actually filled by incumbents having such education. Eighteen such positions were vacant, and, generally, difficulty was reported by executives in filling them.

In fact, only a small proportion of the total number of social workers had any graduate education. Of the 449 incumbents of 493 social work positions as listed by executives (44 positions were vacant), a total of 27.6 per cent had one but less than two years of graduate work, and only 16.5 per cent had two or more years of graduate education in social work. According to the replies of 283 social workers reporting for themselves on the individual questionnaire, a total of 28.6 per cent had received a graduate degree or certificate. Several of these degrees, however, were in sociology and other subjects rather than in social work. Twenty-five were certificates of social work. Only 50, or 17.7 per cent, had had two years of graduate education in social work. Thus the returns from the executives and from the individual social workers agreed closely as showing that only about 1 social worker in 6 had a full professional education.

WHAT COLLEGES PRODUCE SOCIAL WORKERS?

A question was raised by a University of Cincinnati authority as to whether it could be expected that many students in a local graduate school would be found to be graduates of the University of Cincinnati or whether social work was, like the Protestant ministry, depending for the great majority of its professional members on small colleges of the Middle West. Findings of the study showed that, of the 220 college graduates among the

283 social workers reporting on the individual questionnaire, 30 per cent were graduates of the University of Cincinnati and 8 per cent more were graduates of collegiate institutions (Catholic) located in the Cincinnati area. Many large and well-known colleges as well as small ones were included in the total list of colleges represented by the social workers.

Of the 50 graduates of the University of Cincinnati, only 21, or 42 per cent, had succeeded in acquiring some graduate professional education in social work as compared with 114, or 51.8 per cent, of the total group of 283 social workers. Of all those who had acquired some graduate education for social work, the average *amount* of such education acquired by University of Cincinnati graduates was less than the average, namely, 1.09 years as compared with 1.44 years for the total group.³ Of all those social workers reporting 2 years of graduate education in social work, four-fifths had been non-residents of Cincinnati, educated in universities in other cities, and brought here subsequent to their graduate education to fill the better positions in social work in this city.

Because of this disadvantaged educational status, only 16 per cent of the graduates of the University of Cincinnati had achieved supervisory or departmental executive positions, as compared with 22.3 per cent for the total group of social workers. It also followed that the salaries of graduates of the University of Cincinnati were not so high as for the total group. Of the total group, 5.7 per cent received salaries of \$3,200 or more, but

³ Those reporting less than 1 year of graduate work were arbitrarily given a value of $\frac{1}{2}$ year of such work, whereas those reporting more than 1 year but less than 2 were arbitrarily given a value of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years of graduate work.

only 2.2 per cent of the Cincinnati graduates received such salaries.

SOCIAL AGENCIES WANT LOCAL SCHOOL

Thirty-two of the 42 agency executives thought Cincinnati should have an approved school of social work. Three gave qualified answers, and 5 did not answer at all. Only 2 answered "No." Nine agencies stated that they would be willing to provide a total of 27 to 29 scholarships of from \$60 to \$70 a month for students in a local school. Four agencies reported granting a total of \$11,910 to 16 scholarship students doing graduate work in schools of social work in other cities last year. Thirty agency executives stated that they would be willing to grant time to staff members for attendance at some daytime classes in suitable professional courses without loss of pay. Four more executives gave qualified assent.

The public agency executives were particularly emphatic in statements as to the need of a local school of social work. Only 2 out of 10 public agencies reported independence of residence restrictions in the employment of staff members.

WHY MORE GRADUATE EDUCATION WAS NOT SECURED

The reasons most commonly given by social workers on the individual questionnaire as to why they had not secured more graduate education for social work indicated that the most important factor was financial. Seventy-seven said frankly that they "could not afford it." Fifty indicated the closely related reason, "could not go out of town to get such education." Twenty-four said that they "did not want to take the time." Twenty-one said that they "did not know their vocational choice"; 7 that they expected that the job would be temporary; and 8 that they had expected to go into some other line of work.

In answer to the question as to whether they would have taken more graduate work if such had been available in Cincinnati, 114 said "Yes," 22 gave qualified answers, and 28 said "No."

The financial problem for students in connection with education for social work has several aspects: one is the immediate cost of acquiring such education, and another is the eventual return in the form of salary. The indication in the replies of the social workers was that the immediate additional cost involved in going to some other city to get graduate education for social work was a decisive factor preventing a large number from getting such education.

The median salary offered by agencies for beginning social case workers with 2 years of graduate professional education was found to be \$1,800, as compared with \$1,620 for beginners with only a college degree—a total differential of only \$180, or 11 per cent. There was, likewise, not a large differential for *experienced* case workers of the different degrees of education; the median being \$2,500 for those with 2 years of graduate education, as compared with \$2,100 for those with no graduate education,—a total differential of \$400, or 19 per cent.

An inquiry was made in this connection regarding the differential between the salaries of registered staff nurses and those of undergraduate nurse assistants (not students) in a typical hospital in Cincinnati. The differentials for the two grades of nurses were: for beginners, 42.8 per cent; and after 18 months experience, 47.25 per cent. These differentials may be compared with 11 per cent and 19 per cent, respectively, as cited above, for beginning and experienced case workers with the different degrees of education.

The salary differentials as between

* These data were secured in the fall of 1945.

professionally educated social workers and those with only a good general education are not large enough to make graduate education a sound investment from the financial point of view—at least as long as the worker remains on the case-work practitioner level. A year of graduate work may be estimated to cost a minimum of \$1,000 in direct cost and \$1,600 in loss of salary which might have been earned by the worker, according to the findings of this study, if he had gone directly from college into social work. This makes a total cost of \$2,600 for 1 year, or \$5,200 for 2 years, of graduate work. The study indicates an average salary differential of \$400 for experienced workers with 2 years of graduate education, as pointed out above. It is evident that it would require a long time, 13 years with a \$400 differential, to pay the \$5,200 cost of 2 years of graduate work.

These figures do, of course, apply only to the case-work practitioner rank. It is true that the more highly qualified social workers, generally speaking, progress more rapidly into the supervisory and executive positions, where the differentials would be much greater. The median salary for consultants and supervisors was \$2,880. The number of such better-paid positions, however, is limited, and not every good practitioner is qualified as, or should become, a supervisor or executive. In the case of nurses, the differential as between trained and untrained nurses applied entirely to staff nurses and did not include supervisors. Thus, nurses have apparently succeeded better than social workers in getting financial recognition for educational qualifications.

This matter of adequate salaries for qualified social workers is doubtless one of the basic problems in getting the desired supply of such workers. Salaries need to be increased, but, at the same

time, this cannot be regarded as the sole solution for the problem. Young people should be assisted in every possible way to meet the cost of graduate education, and one way of doing this in a large metropolitan area is to make professional education available locally. Scholarships meet only a fraction of the cost, especially if the student must leave home and go to another city for such education.

REPLACEMENT RATE OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN CINCINNATI

The probable duration of the period of professional practice in social work, as well as annual earnings, is an important factor in determining the number of young persons (and their parents) who feel that they can afford to spend the time and money for a graduate professional education. Little is known as yet about the professional longevity of social workers, but it is undoubtedly an important factor in the problem of maintaining an adequate supply of professionally educated workers. It greatly affects the number of students that must be graduated each year by schools of social work to maintain the professional population.

One of the important questions in considering whether to establish a school of social work in Cincinnati was: How many students would need to be enrolled each year in such a school to supply the annual replacement need in the professional group in this community? The study undertook to secure some estimate in answer to this question.

Two hundred and sixty-five social workers in this study (22 men and 243 women) stated the year of their entry into the social work profession either in Cincinnati or elsewhere.

It is obvious that the men had re-

mained in social work on the average longer than the women: in fact, 12.7 years as compared with 9.7 years. The average length of time that members of the total group (265), both men and women, had been in social work at the time of the study—in other words, the average professional age of the group—was 10.06 years.

The chart⁵ shows a considerable bulge in the number of women now in social work who entered the field in the late twenties and the first half of the thirties. The depression, beginning in 1930, was no doubt one factor accounting for this. The large number who entered from 1928 to 1935 was offset by the small number entering the field from 1936 to 1941. If these two counterbalancing irregularities in the chart were smoothed out, it would assume approximately the normal pyramid shape on the women's side. It is true that the numbers involved are small; and, consequently, the margin of error may be large. But, taking the figures as a rough approximation of the normal distribution, the average number of persons entering the profession in the last two years, i.e., 29, or 10.9 per cent of the total, may be taken as an indication of the average number that would need to enter the profession each year in order to maintain a total group of 265 social workers in Cincinnati.

Caution should be observed in making generalizations on the basis of the foregoing data. The group involved included only about 17 per cent who were fully professional in the educational sense. Furthermore, the group was restricted to one locality. Some of the replacements were necessary because of social workers

leaving the city but not leaving the profession. Recent statistics of the national membership of the American Association of Social Workers show that the average length of practice of 6,344 members in 1945 was nearly 14 years,⁶ instead of 10.6 years as in case of the Cincinnati group. The period of professional practice may be expected to be briefer for social work than for some other professions because of the fact that such a large part of the membership consists of attractive young women of marriageable age. Marriage, of course, does not always terminate but often more or less interrupts a professional career.

Pursuing further the estimate of the number and education of those who must enter social work each year in Cincinnati, the executives of 42 agencies⁷ reported a total of 363 positions needing more or less specialized education—164 positions needing 2 years of graduate work, 80 needing 1 year, and 119 needing a college education with a major in a social science plus some undergraduate courses in social work. If it requires an average of 29 social workers entering social work each year to maintain a population of 265, it would require approximately 40 to maintain a population of 363 workers. If this number, 40, is divided proportionately according to the number of positions calling for the different degrees of professional education cited above, it would mean that schools of social work, either in this community or elsewhere, would need to produce for Cincinnati each year 18 students who had completed 2 full years of graduate education (M.A. degree), 9 who had completed 1 year, and 13 who had completed full college work

⁵ The full report of the study includes a pyramid, population type chart showing a distribution of this group of 265 social workers according to the year of their entry into social work, the most recent year being represented at the bottom of the pyramid.

⁶ *Compass*, XXVII, No. 5 (June, 1946), 6.

⁷ These 42 were not more than one-third of all health and welfare agencies in Cincinnati but included those most interested in social work education.

(A.B. degree), including undergraduate social work courses and a major in one of the social sciences. This would mean each year a total attendance of 45 full-time graduate students (18 second-year and 27 first-year students) plus 13 undergraduate Senior students majoring in one of the social sciences and taking some undergraduate social work courses. Thus a total of at least 58 full-time students, graduate and undergraduate, would need to take courses annually in social work to meet the need in Cincinnati. The accredited schools of social work throughout the country in November, 1945, had an average of 52 full-time graduate students as compared with the foregoing figure of 45.

This is not an estimate of the number of students that a social work school in Cincinnati might expect but rather is an estimate of the number of full-time students that would be required to maintain a supply of social workers of certain educational qualifications for a specified number of positions. Social agencies in Cincinnati would wish to employ some students from other schools of social work, and some graduates of a school in Cincinnati would go to agencies in other cities.

DEMAND BY THOSE ALREADY ENGAGED IN SOCIAL WORK

None of these calculations has touched upon the demand for part-time education in special courses for social workers already employed in the social agencies. If an accredited school of social work were established in Cincinnati, 138 social workers stated that they would pay their own tuition and take one or more day-time courses providing the agency could grant the time off on full pay; 140 made a similar statement concerning night courses. Actually, these numbers would no doubt have to be discounted considerably when it came to enrolment.

The Cincinnati metropolitan district in 1940 had a population of 789,309 persons. Twenty-two of the 46 accredited schools of social work of the United States are located in communities of smaller population. Of the 21 largest metropolitan districts of the United States in 1940, of which Cincinnati was sixteenth, 5 were without accredited schools of social work; namely, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Providence, and the Scranton-Wilkes-Barre district. However, it is expected that the University of Wisconsin school located in Milwaukee will soon be accredited. Baltimore and Providence are within what might be considered commuting distance of Washington and Boston, respectively, where there are accredited schools. This leaves only Cincinnati and the Scranton-Wilkes-Barre district without schools of social work either in or readily available to the metropolitan district.

COST OF A SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK RELATED TO HEALTH AND WELFARE EXPENDITURES

The total expenditures for all health and welfare work in Cincinnati and Hamilton County in 1944 were \$19,281,937. A little over one-fourth of this cost was met by persons receiving service, leaving a net of \$13,911,630, which was met (1) by public appropriations—federal, state, and local—amounting to \$10,063,890; and (2) by private contributions, endowments, and other income totaling \$3,847,740. The grand total (\$19,281,937) was approximately equal to the total budget of the city of Cincinnati in 1946 (\$19,264,831) and was more than a million dollars in excess of the operating expenditures of the city in 1944 (\$18,088,274).

Since the total welfare and health program involved so much money, it is rea-

sonable to assume that a school of social work would be an important economy in terms of more effective administration in this field. Public funds cannot be expended to advantage except as qualified personnel is available for their administration. The cost of a good school of social work and social administration, it was estimated by the study, would be between one-fourth and one-third of 1 per cent of the total expenditures for all health and welfare work in this community. It is recognized, of course, that other professions than social work are involved in this total community program—notably physicians and nurses.

CONCLUSIONS

Both the findings of the study and the informal expressions, particularly on the part of members of the advisory committee for the study, indicated that a school of social work in Cincinnati should, first of all, be a *strong 2-year graduate professional school*. Executives of 23 agencies in the study rated 164 positions as needing 2 full years of graduate education, and 15 executives rated 80 positions as needing 1 year of graduate education.

However, the findings of the study indicated the importance of a *strong undergraduate program* of education not only as a preparation for graduate study in a school of social work but also in general preparation for some social work positions which were not considered to require, or for which there may not be an adequate supply of, qualified social workers. Agency executives rated 249 positions, or slightly over one-half the total, as needing less than graduate professional education. The most important group among these 249 was that of the 119 positions calling for "full college work including a major in some social

science plus some undergraduate courses in social service."

To the question "Do you think it (i.e., an approved school of social work in Cincinnati) should offer undergraduate social work courses of informational or introductory type, as well as graduate courses in social work?" 25 agency executives out of the 42 answered "Yes"; 4 answered "No"; and 4 gave qualified answers. A further finding of like significance as to the kind of school demanded was that 166 social workers themselves definitely expressed interest in a list of preprofessional or undergraduate courses for social service. This was almost as many as those who expressed interest in a sample list of technical or graduate professional courses (188).

The findings indicated that a graduate school in Cincinnati should place emphasis on special courses for workers already employed by social agencies, given at hours during the day as well as during the evenings convenient for them.

The study showed that a local graduate school should place emphasis upon preparation for positions in the public as well as the private welfare field. This was suggested by the findings: (a) local public agencies suffer from residence restrictions in the employment of staff and so are especially dependent upon a local school; (b) there is greater need as shown by this study for education in the public welfare field in terms of the smaller proportion of public agency workers having satisfactory education for social work; and (c) the public funds for all welfare and health work in Hamilton County are nearly three times as great as private funds from all sources other than persons served (\$10,063,890 vs. \$3,847,740 in 1944).

The economic problem of students in considering a professional education stood out prominently in the findings of

this study: the immediate investment of time and money, the meager salaries and salary differentials for professional personnel, and the oftentimes brief period of professional practice. Every effort should be made, through emphasis on the importance of professional qualifications and otherwise, to increase salaries; but it is too much to expect that salaries can actually be increased sufficiently or rapidly enough entirely to solve this problem. Everything possible must also be done to decrease the cost of graduate professional education for well-qualified students. Otherwise, as the data of this study, and of family incomes generally, show, relatively few can meet the cost of such education. The economic realities also dictate that graduate education cannot be insisted upon for those social work positions requiring only a suitable undergraduate education.

In considering ways and means of meeting the economic problem, it developed in connection with the study that in Cincinnati a local school might open to its students an important financial resource in the form of the "co-op" plan. This plan, under which a student spends part of his time on the campus and part in a public department or public institution or business firm, has long had an important place at the University of Cincinnati. Departments of local government co-operate with the university by employment of co-op students under quite flexible arrangements as to hours and days or alternate school terms. Graduate co-op students are paid, according to time on the job, at full-time rates of \$1,343 to \$1,553 per year including the cost-of-living bonus. Graduate co-op students at the present time receive the latter rate.

The utilization of this plan, however, would require professionally qualified supervisors who would also select and limit

the number of cases and relate the field work to that of the classroom for each student. Not all public agencies, or, for that matter, not all private agencies, in Cincinnati could give the time or provide the supervisory service to meet this sound educational requirement. Therefore, in order to utilize the co-op plan and to provide the best educational program, the proposed school of social work in Cincinnati should employ some supervisory staff of its own, thus assuring that the field work of the students would be an integral part of the educational program.

The co-op plan would probably apply especially to the public agencies, as public funds for assistance of students might be available only in this way. The private agencies might prefer to use such funds as they had available to assist students in the form of scholarships rather than in co-op payments. Whichever plan is used, it is essential that the agency, public or private, maintain the educational approach in co-operation with the school, carefully avoiding that of getting "its money's worth" out of the student.

The Board of Directors of the University of Cincinnati on March 4, 1947, took action to the effect that, "in view of the University's financial situation, present and prospective, it cannot approve the establishment of a two-year professional graduate school of social work." Since the failure of the special tax levy for the city at the election last fall, it has been conceded that the University of Cincinnati cannot now finance a school of social work; however, the local A.A.S.W., the Social Workers Club, the Council of Social Agencies and Community Chest, all are actively seeking a solution for the problem of professional education in Cincinnati.

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

GRACE ABBOTT ON THE BEGIN- NINGS OF THE U.S. CHILD- REN'S BUREAU

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Miss Addams' book *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* was planned to cover only part of the story of Julia Lathrop's work. This book was to have been followed by a book by Grace Abbott covering Miss Lathrop's work as the first chief of the United States Children's Bureau.¹ The following material, which was found among Grace Abbott's papers, was the draft of a section of this second book, on which she had just made a beginning. The editor believes, however, that this statement will be of interest to our readers. It is now thirty-five years since the Children's Bureau was established, and during these thirty-five years it has given leadership in the field of child welfare not only in our own country but in the world. Many foreign countries have copied the plan of a central governmental bureau for the interests of children. Therefore, this account of the hopes and plans of those who laid the foundations of our great national child welfare agency will, it is believed, be of special interest because it was written by Grace Abbott, Miss Lathrop's successor as chief, and also because it marks the bureau's thirty-fifth year of service to children everywhere.]

IT WAS in 1903 that Lillian Wald, head resident of Henry Street Settlement in New York, and Florence Kelley, who lived at Henry Street after she left Chicago and Hull-House to become secretary of the National Consumers' League, first planned a United States Children's Bureau. Although they both kept the need before the public from that time on, it was not until 1906 that the congressional campaign for its establishment was under way. The National

Child Labor Committee was the agency which they asked to sponsor the proposed measure. Miss Wald and Mrs. Kelley were both members of the board of trustees of the Child Labor Committee, as were Jane Addams, Felix Adler, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Homer Folks, Judge Julian W. Mack, and others who were enthusiastic supporters of the idea of a Children's Bureau. To Owen R. Lovejoy, the executive secretary of the Child Labor Committee, and to Dr. A. J. McKelway, its southern field representative, fell the responsibility for the long educational campaign, both inside and outside Congress, which is usually necessary for the passage of social legislation and is always fundamental for its ultimate success.

This campaign for the establishment of a children's bureau was carried on during the second term of President Theodore Roosevelt—a period of self-examination and self-criticism and widespread interest in social and political reform. The United States had just begun to understand the problems which the massing of wealth in the hands of a few people created, and they were beginning to believe that maintenance of a democratic form of government would be impossible unless some method of curtailing the power of the "great corporations" was discovered. A secret ballot, direct primaries, the commission form of government for cities, election of senators by popular vote, were popular political reforms, as antitrust legislation was the form of economic control on which reformers pinned their hopes. For twenty years investigation and popular publication had revealed to Americans the misery and corruption which our rapid industrial expansion and apparent prosperity had concealed.

In the first fifteen years of the twentieth century child labor was a "great cause." It

¹ This story is now told in a history of the United States Children's Bureau written by Miss Dorothy E. Bradbury. Miss Bradbury's book is now ready for press and should appear within the next year.

was the spearhead in the fight for better working conditions and for a measure of control of industry. The struggle for the protection of children, which had precipitated great bitterness in Illinois in the nineties,² became a national issue ten years later. Senator Beveridge of Indiana had introduced a bill for a federal child labor law in 1906 and had spoken for two days in support of his proposal. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts had sponsored a proposal for federal regulation of the work of women as well as of children.

President Roosevelt approved the proposal for a children's bureau when Miss Wald first proposed the plan to him in 1906, and he recommended it in a special message to Congress after it was made the central recommendation of the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, which he called in 1909. But President Roosevelt never put it on any "must list," and the measure was still pending when his term ended. President Taft gave the plan the same kind of support, and the act creating the bureau was finally passed in the last year of his term. There had been long, tedious denunciation of the proposed children's bureau as a revolutionary and socialistic measure, especially by southern congressmen and senators who feared it as an agency that would urge the removal of the children from the mills. The southern textile interests were then finding the exploitation of working children highly profitable, as had the mills of New England and of Old England, which, in turn, had won large profits from child labor. With child labor the "great cause" at that time, the other provisions of the bill were overshadowed by the bitter controversy over the issue of the right of children to their childhood. While the bill was changed in the long history of its passage through Congress, the final language of the act represented the original proposal of Miss Wald and Mrs. Kelley. It read as follows:

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR A BUREAU TO BE KNOWN AS THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be established in the Department of Commerce and Labor a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau.³

SEC. 2. That the said bureau shall be under the direction of a chief, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive an annual compensation of five thousand dollars. The said bureau shall investigate and report to said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories. But no official, or agent, or representative of said bureau shall, over the objection of the head of the family, enter any house used exclusively as a family residence. The chief of said bureau may from time to time publish the results of these investigations in such manner and to such extent as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. . . .

Approved April 9, 1912 (37 Stat. 79).

But the act creating the Children's Bureau was, in fact, revolutionary. The bureau had, to be sure, no administrative responsibilities; neither did the scientific bureaus in the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior nor the Bureau of Labor Statistics—then called the Bureau of Labor. But all these older bureaus seemed to congressmen to have a definite relationship to the production of wealth, which the government had encouraged from the beginning. But child welfare was different—it was either something sentimental and trivial and therefore unworthy of interest on the part of the federal government or, when advocated by

² James Weber Linn, *Jane Addams, A Biography* (New York, 1935).

³ Transferred from Department of Commerce and Labor to Department of Labor by act approved March 4, 1913. [Transferred in 1946 to the Federal Security Agency.]

men and women who were on record as believing in higher wages and the right of the workers to organize, it was the expression of hostility to sound business interests and should not be allowed to get a foothold in the federal government.

It was the first social welfare measure ever consciously passed by our American Congress. There were government bureaus, like the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which should have been administering a social welfare program. But the Indian Bureau had sought, in defiance of recognized principles of social treatment, to compel the Americanization of the Indian by the destruction of all family and tribal ties. Moreover, because of the value of the Indian lands, it was the happy hunting-ground of politicians who were dedicated to "honest graft." The profit motive was the basis of the fine scientific work which was developing in the Department of Agriculture and was therefore easy for congressmen to understand. The Public Health Service was reorganized from a marine hospital and immigration service into a bureau with general public health functions in the summer of 1912, some months after the Children's Bureau act passed.

The Bureau of Labor, which was to be renamed the Bureau of Labor Statistics, was supposed to be only a statistical agency; but, when Charles P. Neill was Commissioner of Labor, he had used this bureau for important services in addition to fact-gathering. But child welfare—an important subject for the federal government to be concerned about—was a reform which, when advocated by the Child Labor Committee and individuals who believed in the rights of labor, was something that would be hostile to business interests and which should therefore not be encouraged.

It was, however, a period when social reform was in the air. Turning over the pages of a weekly journal for 1912, one reads of the passage of the phosphorus match act, workmen's compensation, and mothers' pension laws.

As there had been much public discussion

of the children's bureau measure as it made its weary way through Congress, there was much interest in who was to administer the act. Miss Addams, Mrs. Kelley, and Miss Wald agreed that Julia C. Lathrop was the best person for the position of chief of the new bureau, and they set about organizing support for her appointment. Probably Julius Rosenwald, a friend and admirer of President Taft and of Miss Lathrop, was more influential than any other one individual in persuading the President to make the appointment. Mr. Taft sent her nomination to the Senate on April 17, and it was confirmed on April 23. This appointment, like the creation of the bureau, was revolutionary. No woman had ever before held an important official executive position in Washington. The federal government had been employing thousands of women clerks since the Civil War, but they had not been promoted to the major or minor executive positions, and professional women had not then as now made their way into the scientific bureaus. Women had been given the right to vote in only nine states—Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, and Kansas—all western states, to be sure, but Champ Clark had predicted national victory in 1917. The Pankhursts were conducting their dramatic suffragette campaign in England. "Votes for women" was accepted by Theodore Roosevelt for a Progressive plank at the Chicago Progressive Convention in 1912. Woman suffrage was in 1912 moving into the final bitter stage which usually precedes the success of so basic a social change.

Only a handful of women had been appointed to important local offices. Ella Flagg Young had, it is true, been made superintendent of schools in Chicago; Dr. S. Josephine Baker was chief of the Child Hygiene Division of the New York City Department of Health, with a salary of \$3,000 a year; Kate Holladay Claghorn was registrar of records in the Tenement House Department of New York City—described as a

"fat" job, paying also \$3,000 a year.⁴ Some few women—Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Mary Simkhovitch—had built their own work, but women were seldom given places of importance in social work. In 1909 the National Conference of Charities and Correction elected its first woman president, with many who personally admired Miss Addams feeling that this was a very dangerous step. Miss Addams, conscious of this fear and amused by it, promised in accepting the position "to tread lightly and speak softly," so as to make sure at every point that she did nothing to discredit the Conference. The *Outlook*, of which Theodore Roosevelt was an editor with Lyman Abbott, was publishing articles by women who said that they were more interested in their children than in tariff schedules; a "big man" was quoted approvingly as having said "he had been taught by his father to fear God and a clever woman and he had come to be more afraid of the latter."

President Taft, however, justified his appointment of Miss Lathrop by the simple statement that neither sex nor politics should dictate the appointment of the head of the Children's Bureau. He had appointed Miss Lathrop because he was convinced that she was the most competent person available for the place.

When Julia Lathrop arrived, there was great curiosity about her. Washington, always full of gossip about personages in official life, was then hardly more than a small city, and the establishment of a new bureau had an importance that the creation of a new department would not have today. Miss Lathrop met this curiosity about herself on every hand; she did not enjoy it, but tried to turn public interest in her into support for the Children's Bureau. She was fifty-three years old when she accepted the responsibility of organizing and developing the new bureau. Those years had been spent in her birthplace—Rockford, Illinois; at Vassar College; in the office of her father, a

former congressman and a leading lawyer in northern Illinois; at Hull-House, Chicago, and in study in England and Europe of the administration of "insane asylums," of penal and correctional institutions, and the public social services for the poor.

Miss Lathrop was one of the early residents of Hull-House, and it was principally in the work she did in and from Hull-House and as a member of the Illinois Board of Public Charities that she secured the experience which prepared her for the work she was to do in Washington. Except, perhaps, for the first few months, Miss Addams never "assigned" work to the residents of Hull-House. They discovered their own special fields of service and their own methods of approach to solutions of some of the many problems which an industrial neighborhood presented in the 1890's. As naturally as Jane Addams took up her work of interpreting—to Chicago, the nation, and the world—the social, economic, and political problems in the river wards of Chicago, which was to be her home for more than forty years; as Florence Kelley, also a resident of Hull-House in the nineties, began her long crusade against sweated industries, child labor, and the exploitation of women and child workers, Julia Lathrop undertook to discover how the public social services could be made to serve scientifically and adequately the people whose needs they were supposed to meet. In *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* Miss Addams has told the story of her work on the staff of the office of the County Agent, as Cook County's relief office was then called, and as a member of the State Board of Public Charities. She had native political insight, and her years on the State Board and her efforts to secure greatly needed legislation in state and local governments had taught her much of politicians and their methods. In his series of articles on municipal government, Lincoln Steffens described Chicago as "half free and fighting on." Miss Lathrop had always been in the fight—sometimes as a leader and sometimes as a follower. She knew the ways in which Johnny Powers had kept his hold

⁴ Frank Porter Stockbridge, "A Woman Who Spends over Forty Million Dollars a Year and Some Others," *American City*, VI (June, 1912), 814-18.

on the old Nineteenth Ward and how businessmen and "statesmen" turned to the corrupt politicians in the industrial districts for help in fighting the interests of those districts. She had, then, no illusions about the problems and difficulties which come with public office; she knew the same forces would be found in Washington, although their protective coloring would be better. Miss Lathrop preferred to get things done by supplying ideas to others who, she thought, would publicly sponsor them more successfully than she could herself. She was the moving spirit in the creation of the first juvenile court in 1899, and it was she who organized the paid voluntary probation service which it lacked. Some ten years later, she interested Mrs. Ethel Dummer in paying for the first psychiatrist for a juvenile court, or, indeed, for any court. Miss Lathrop had asked a small committee, including some university professors, to select the director for this new undertaking, and the university professors wanted to see a psychologist who had been warmly recommended given this position. One of them, I recall, said bitterly, "Miss Lathrop had dealt with crooked politicians for so long she didn't know how to deal with honest people," when they discovered that she had already selected a director and had undertaken to see what could be done by a psychiatric approach to the problems of delinquency. But Miss Lathrop's long study of mental disease had made her sure that to choose other than a psychiatrist would be a fatal mistake, and she had moved swiftly in the accomplishment of what she knew was the right course. It was Miss Lathrop who, with Graham Taylor as president, organized the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, the first school of social work west of New York; she it was who insisted the word "Civics" should precede "Philanthropy" in the name of the school. She was appointed by John M. Glenn to make the study of juvenile delinquency for which the Russell Sage Foundation supplied the funds, and she brought first Miss Breckinridge from the University of Chicago and

then Edith Abbott from Wellesley College to take charge of the new Research Department which was set up with these funds.

Miss Lathrop had two great attributes—penetrating shrewdness and a gay wit—which together enabled her to confound opposition at exactly the right moment. At the same time, she was able to get great personal enjoyment out of the troubled turnings and twistings of those in high places who lacked character or convictions. She was able to laugh at her own mistakes as well as those of others; while carefully building up the foundation for her next attack, she was a gay companion, as those who accompanied her on her frequent visits to her friends in the zoo, a theater, a late supper, or an early breakfast can testify.

In her first report Miss Lathrop said of the bureau:

This bureau is the result of the belief, on the part of many individuals and associations interested in the protection and betterment of children, that the Federal Government should aid in that service, just as the various bureaus of the Department of Agriculture have for years assisted in the betterment of farm plants and animals. Fifty years ago the field of the Department of Agriculture was defined as "all information concerning agriculture." In the same way the field of the Children's Bureau is now defined as "all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life." It is obvious that the bureau is to be a center of information useful to all the children of America, to ascertain and to popularize just standards for their life and development.

In her hope of holding the public support which she believed was in favor of the organization of a federal children's agency, Miss Lathrop carefully planned the use of the modest sum of \$25,640 appropriated for the use of the new Children's Bureau. She pointed out in that first report that because the evils of child labor were strongly set forth by those who advocated the children's bill in Congress, there were many who thought that the bureau was charged primarily with the investigation of child labor. "The law, however, explicitly gives the

bureau a larger task, in which the study of child labor is only one subject."

Her immediate question, "after the working organization of the new bureau had been effected," was, as she says in that first report as chief of the Children's Bureau, to find "the most strategic point" at which the bureau could begin field investigations with the small force available. She thought a subject must be selected in which there was "pressing need of investigation" and also "a practicable method of approach for the bureau's small staff and small appropriation."

She therefore undertook a study of infant mortality as her first research project. She knew that a study of child labor, for example, would arouse some apprehension and hostility, and she was anxious that the bureau should not make any unnecessary enemies. She thought certain points were clear. The subject chosen for the bureau's first field study must be "fundamental to social welfare, of popular interest, and serve a real human need"; and from the practical standpoint, she said, it must be work which could be done "a small bit at a time and published in instalments as each unit was finished. . . ." All these requirements were met in the subject selected—that of infant mortality. Therefore, the bureau's first study was *Infant Mortality—Results of a Field Study in Johnstown, Pa., Based on Births in One Calendar Year*.

As a result of this study she began the bureau's long-time program for securing better statistics of infant mortality and the causes of infant mortality and, of course, the prevention of the unnecessary deaths of mothers and babies. Miss Lathrop at once planned an appeal to the women's organizations of the country for the support of what she believed was a great, popular, and practicable reform measure.

This was all part of Miss Lathrop's plan to have the new bureau begin its work in a way that would make friends and would win a large measure of popular support. Miss Lathrop not only pointed out that infant mortality was at that time "challenging

the attention of the whole civilized world," but she also emphasized the fact that "the United States differed from other civilized countries in having no general system of birth registration" and it was, therefore, "impossible to state with accuracy our proportionate loss." She quoted the estimate of the Census Bureau that our actual loss in the preceding year had been about 300,000 babies under one year of age, "of whom" she said, "at least half would now be living had we, as individuals and communities, applied those measures of hygiene and sanitation which are known and available. Here," she added, "is a vast and unmeasured loss of infant life due solely to individual and civic neglect. The economic and industrial significance of such a loss in the general scheme of social well-being is beginning to be realized."

She was able, also, to announce at the end of her first year that the bureau's first report, a pamphlet on birth registration, had been requested by the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This report issued by the bureau was the one entitled *Birth Registration: An Aid in Protecting the Lives and Rights of Children*, a publication which marked the beginning of the bureau's effort to co-operate with other bureaus of the government and with private individuals in securing a competent system of birth registration for this country.

But, although she gave infant mortality the first place in the bureau's new program, the subject of child labor was not overlooked in that first year of skilful planning. And Miss Lathrop reported that a review of child labor legislation had been prepared containing a summary of child labor legislation in America by states, covering such points as the minimum age, hours of labor, night work, and prohibited employment. She said that she hoped the review would meet the needs of "the busy man or woman who, as legislator, club member, or citizen, wishes a general picture of the present status of child labor legislation in the United States." The bureau, she reported, also had under way a technical investigation of the

law, the local regulations, and the actual practice relating to the granting of employment certificates to children. This study was useful, she thought, because of the importance of the certificate system as a means of enforcing the age provision of the laws and the protection of children aged fourteen to sixteen from work which was "unsuitable" for their health or morals.

She also announced that the bureau had in preparation a study of child labor statistics, to "give in outline the statistical story of child labor in so far as it has been told by the U.S. Census and by the most reliable Federal and State publications." Another subject under way was a "study of the records of children at work"—that is, a study in the states where "the law requires that the certificate shall remain the property of the issuing office and that it shall be returned and a new one obtained whenever the child changes employers." In some of these states this provision of the law had been in operation for only a short time, but four or five states had records extending over at least two years which showed "the changes of jobs of children between 14 and 16—the shifting of such children from one employer to another and from one industry to another."

In this first report she was careful to state that every member of the staff of fifteen persons except the chief and private secretary had been appointed under the Federal Civil Service Law. She praised her staff as having a "capacity for all-around work and a spirit of co-operation," and as being capable of good team work, and she reported that the staff had been "secured under the strict interpretation of the government merit-system." Miss Lathrop, like her father, had been a staunch early supporter of civil service as a means of ending patronage. Although her new staff was small, there seemed to be many women with influential friends eager for the new openings in the bureau, and the change from a Republican to a Democratic administration before she had been in office a year did not make her position any easier. A story that

an assistant told of Miss Lathrop at this time shows how determined she was to keep the bureau on a strictly civil service basis. An influential gentleman who had been holding a high governmental post in Washington came over to see if Miss Lathrop could not be persuaded to take "a more practical view" of the persistent job hunters and to modify her uncompromising attitude regarding the subject of patronage. He explained that she was not asked to turn over all her appointments, that as long as the important posts in her bureau and the majority of the staff were protected, a few concessions might be made, and he then said persuasively, "Now, Miss Lathrop, suppose a small percentage, say 5 per cent, of your staff are not on civil service, what harm will that do?" "Mr. ———," said Miss Lathrop vigorously and with some anger, as she suddenly reached for her glasses, which she held firmly outstretched, "will you please tell me what 5 per cent of fifteen people will be—how many patronage appointments this will mean?" The story is that the gentleman withdrew in some embarrassment. In any event, Miss Lathrop was not removed by the new Democratic president, and her staff continued to be on civil service.

CITATION FOR MISS BRECKINRIDGE

AT ITS Fifty-first Annual Meeting, the Illinois State Welfare Association presented four awards for "Outstanding and Meritorious Service in the Field of Social Welfare" to Miss Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge, professor emeritus of the University of Chicago; Mr. Joel D. Hunter, general superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago; Mr. George B. McKibbin, chairman of the Illinois Board of Welfare Commissioners; and Professor David E. Lindstrom, of the University of Illinois. The citations were printed in the December, 1946, issue of *Public Aid in Illinois*, the monthly magazine published by the Illinois Public Aid Commission. Presenting the citation to Miss Breckinridge, Mr. Raymond

M. Hilliard, president of the Illinois Welfare Association, said that it was "a testimonial of its esteem and respect . . . for outstanding achievement and distinguished service . . . ; for constant effort on behalf of the underprivileged, unfortunate, destitute and handicapped residents of Illinois; for unremitting devotion to the cause of social justice; and for unfailing leadership and superb direction, particularly in the area of social action and education." To Miss Breckinridge, who responded briefly, the large dinner audience, rising instantly, gave enthusiastic applause.

FOREIGN POLICY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

THE foreign policy of our government is of concern not only to the Department of State but to various branches, divisions, or agencies of other departments. In the past, for example, there have been certain interdepartmental committees recognizing this interest, which is wider than the Department of State. There has been, for example, the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy; there has also been the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee; and there has also been the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems; and there have been the Air Coordinating Committee, the Telecommunications Committee, and the Food and Agriculture Committee, all concerned with certain aspects of foreign policy. Until very recently there has been no committee recognizing the social welfare, health, and labor areas of foreign policy and those concerned with education, science, cultural relations, and information.

Now, it is understood that a new Interdepartmental Committee on International Social Policy is being organized, and it is hoped by many interested observers that this may include representatives from the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, the Federal Security Agency, and, of course, the State Department. Representatives from the various departments and agencies may properly be

asked to participate on the committee or to serve on subcommittees when subjects are being considered that are of special interest to this widely selected group.

This may also be the time to refer again to the hope that the Department of State may in the not too distant future find it possible to have welfare attachés in some of the important foreign countries. Periodic reports on welfare conditions in these countries are of great importance at the present time, and experienced welfare workers stationed in certain foreign capitals for reports to the Department of State in the field of social welfare would be welcomed with enthusiasm. It is to be hoped that the Department of State may sometime find it possible to meet this long-felt and clearly recognized need.

THE I.L.O.

IN THE review of international relations of social welfare interest, the I.L.O. must not be overlooked. The I.L.O., which is expected to hold its thirtieth session in March, 1947, will be meeting in Geneva for the first time since the war. The *Monthly Labor Review* (December, 1946) quite properly said:

Developments in the world labor situation during and since the war have emphasized the importance of the work the I.L.O. has to do. Its place in the framework of the United Nations organizations is now generally recognized. . . . The Honorable Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in addressing one of the plenary sessions said that the United Nations welcomes association with the I.L.O. and looks to it as "an Organization of proved efficiency to carry out one of the most important branches" of the work of the United Nations.

The I.L.O. Conference at Montreal last September ratified the agreement defining its relationship to the United Nations as a specialized international agency and establishing its affiliation with the Social and Economic Council.

The I.L.O. was organized in 1919 as a tripartite organization representing governments, labor, and management, and it has functioned effectively since that time in improving labor

standards and standards of living throughout the world. It was consequently of great importance that the place of the I.L.O. should be defined in the scheme of new international organizations and institutions.

During the intergovernmental discussion preceding the San Francisco Conference in the spring of 1945, I.L.O. representatives contributed substantially to a clarification of the objectives of the proposed United Nations Organization and of the role of the I.L.O. in any postwar international framework. Early in 1946, the I.L.O. and the United Nations both appointed committees to negotiate a draft agreement providing for practical and efficient mutual collaboration. The draft agreement was approved by the Economic and Social Council in June, 1946, to become effective when it had been approved by the Assembly of the United Nations, and will permit co-operation between the I.L.O. and the United Nations Economic and Social Council in promoting economic and social development, full employment, and higher levels of living. If improvement of economic conditions is one of the methods of achieving world peace, the I.L.O. marks an important step toward meeting that objective.

BRITAIN'S DEPENDENT CHILDREN

THE important *Report of the Care of Children Committee* (Cmd. 6922)—the so-called Curtis Committee, of which Miss Myra Curtis, principal of Newnham College, was chairman—which appeared last fall—has been the subject of much comment in the British press and some discussion in Parliament. It is not reviewed in this issue because the *Review* has been promised an article by a British official on this subject for another, hopefully the next, issue. In order not to seem to ignore this important document, we reprint two British statements—first, one of the editorials on the *Report* from the *Manchester Guardian* and, second, a comment in *Labour*, the official organ of the Trades Union Congress. The *Manchester Guardian* said:

Tuesday's debate in the House on the problems of the care of homeless children reviewed in the Curtis Report brought out again the main distressing facts and emphasised yet again

the deplorable administrative confusion behind them. That so many opinions were heard about which of the three departments concerned would best be made solely responsible is proof in itself of the complexity of the question. Mr. Greenwood in his reply reasonably pointed out that when the report was presented less than a month before the King's Speech, legislation could hardly be prepared immediately. Obviously legislation, when it comes, should be carefully prepared, but there are immediate administrative improvements that can be made without much loss of time. A circular going out within the next few days from the three main departments concerned will urge action upon all local authorities. The important thing now is that the Government should still regard the problem as immediate and urgent and should not be allowed to forget it.

Labour said in a note on the "Plight of Britain's Homeless Children":

Grave defects in the social system of Britain are revealed in the Report of the Care of Children Committee, a document of nearly 200 pages issued by the Stationery Office. . . .

The task of the Committee was "to inquire into existing methods of providing for children who, from loss of parents or from any other cause, are deprived of a normal home life."

Nearly 125,000 children, it is estimated in the Report, come into this category. The Committee investigated conditions in 41 counties and 451 institutions, and interviewed 58 officials and 229 witnesses.

In one case the Committee found 27 children, aged six months to 15 years, forming part of a "motley collection" which included mentally defective adults, accommodated in a century-old Poor Law institution. The Report says:

"Twelve infants up to the age of eighteen months were the children of women in the institution, about half of them still being nursed by their mothers. In the same room in which these children were being cared for was a Mongol idiot, aged four, of gross appearance, for whom there was apparently no accommodation elsewhere." . . .

The Committee found that there were some good homes, but they were in the minority.

Exhaustive recommendations are made by the Committee with a view to remedying this state of affairs. It is proposed, in the first place, that public care should cover children with foster parents and in voluntary homes.

Other recommendations dealt with adoption (concerning which the Committee thought the regulations should be more stringent), boarding out, institutions, remand homes, after care, and handicapped children.

The proposals of the Committee have been placed before the Home Secretary, the Minister of Health, the Minister of Education, and the Minister of Pensions.

Following a debate on the Report in the House of Commons, a circular has been sent out to all local authorities affected by the problem.

The Circular, sponsored by the Home Office and the Ministries of Health and Education, instructed that all children's homes in the country should be carefully examined and any maladministration put right immediately.

"NOBODY'S CHILDREN"

THE Review has noted before the importance of some of the documentary films, and *Nobody's Children* belongs in the documentary class. Last December the "March of Time" presented this film, featuring the subject of child-placing and child adoption. This film, the New York State Charities Aid reports, was produced after consultation with members of several child-care agencies, including the Child Placing and Adoption Committee of the State Charities Aid Association. Several of the scenes shown in the film were taken at S.C.A.A. headquarters, and various committee and staff members appear in the cast.

The film shows in part the difference between unsupervised adoptions and supervised adoptions which occur when prospective parents obtain children through an authorized child-placing agency. It traces the various steps in an adoption made through an agency, ending with a scene where the judge grants the final order of adoption to the foster-parents. Contrasting scenes show a couple who are unwilling to wait until the agency can obtain a child for them and whose adopted child, obtained through illegal channels, is discovered to be a baby with very serious congenital heart condition. In its entirety the film presents an interesting picture of some of the aspects of the work of child adoption agencies and should add greatly to the general public's knowledge of the "how and why" of agency adoption procedures.

A QUARTER-CENTURY OF THE HABIT CLINIC

AN INTERESTING brief article celebrating "A Quarter Century of the Habit Clinic," which appeared in the *Child* (December, 1946), the monthly publication of the United States Children's Bureau, is reprinted below:

Reconversion after World War I found the United States with a new and deeper concern for children. It was as if we had grown out of our pioneer and expansionist preoccupations and could now inspect our structure and assess its true values. In the interests of earlier national objectives we had considered children expendable. Now we saw the nonsense of expending our most precious asset. And instead of trying to palliate maladjustment, poverty, disease, and crime, we were demanding understanding and prevention of these disorders. In every field this demand led to the child.

The juvenile court was born in 1899. At that time pediatrics was new; social service for children, as contrasted with child custody, was new; child psychiatry and mental testing were new. In 1909 the child-guidance clinic, combining these four fields of service and applying them to the behavior problems of adolescent children, had been added to the facilities of the juvenile court. Child-guidance clinics grew slowly, and by 1921 were still to be found only in Chicago, Boston, and Baltimore.

It was into this setting that Dr. Douglas A. Thom stepped in 1921 with the novel idea of a psychiatric service for the preschool child. The title "habit clinic" beckoned the parent, the pediatrician, and others who were unready for the more complex idea of a psychiatric clinic for little children. That Grace Abbott, then Chief of the United States Children's Bureau, helped to develop this service is characteristic of her vision.

The habit clinic's principle of dealing with difficulties in a child's environment before they get inside the child himself was solid ground, upon which psychotherapy was built. As psychotherapy became more prevalent, environmental manipulation lost caste, but it has recently regained respectability as the treatment of choice for children for whom psychotherapy is contraindicated, unnecessary, or impossible.

It was significant that in 1921 a child-health

center should have asked Dr. Thom to study its psychiatric needs and have followed his recommendation to establish the habit clinic. Dr. Thom's organization was simple—a man, a pencil, a pad, a chair and table, and a child.

Many pediatricians undertook to incorporate Thom's purposes and methods into their own private and out-patient clinic practice. Some, such as Aldrich, took on this comprehensive pediatrics seriously. Others were ready for a new tool but not a new concept and hardly did justice to Thom's leadership.

The habit clinic appeared on the scene at a time when groups of parents were in need of formulations that were within their grasp. And Thom's book, "Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child," his habit-training leaflets, and his Children's Bureau pamphlets, "Habit Clinics for the Child of Preschool Age" and "Child Management," all growing out of the experiences of the habit clinic, helped to bring about better understanding of children by parents and teachers and to turn clinical attention to the behavior problems of the young child. Some of these early publications have passed on, but the newer publications that replace them have been built upon these foundations.

The habit clinic led directly to the first State program of preventive mental hygiene, under Dr. Thom, in Massachusetts. But Thom was always cautious about claiming a preventive value for the habit clinic. He felt that the immediate values to the child provided sufficient justification for this work. But in addition the habit clinics have contributed to and helped organize our knowledge about child behavior and have provided a vehicle to transmit this knowledge to the medical profession and the lay public.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the habit clinic marks a quarter century of outstanding service to children.

TO PREVENT "BABY SELLING"

IN CALIFORNIA a report filed with the State Department of Social Welfare late last autumn urged new legislation to prevent illegal baby adoptions. The principal suggestion was that the state and counties should increase adoption services as a means of discouraging illegal adoptions. The report was prepared by a state-wide committee, financed by the Columbia Foundation, which

had made a one-year study of the adoption situation in California. A newspaper release contained the following interesting statements:

The state director of social welfare and chairman of the committee said that the group recommended that counties set up adoption programs financed by the state and that more private child-placing agencies be licensed.

The state adoption official of the Department of Social Welfare pointed out that many adoptions today are carried out independently without proper supervision because of the lack of sufficient control services. Sometimes, she declared, a third party or go-between is involved who is actually "selling babies." "We don't know how many babies are sold in this way, but we think the adoption of a positive program will eliminate the practice."

The state-wide committee issued five recommendations which it urged the social welfare department to carry out. They included the following:

1. That the State Department of Social Welfare license additional private child-placing agencies. (There now are only two, the Children's Home Society and the Native Daughters of the Golden West.)
2. That counties be authorized to place children for adoption. (Under the present system the state has final say in adoption matters.)
3. That legislation be enacted whereby the state will pay the cost of county child-placing programs.
4. That all hearings in the superior courts on adoption matters be private. (Most such hearings now are public.)
5. That the stepparent adoption program, under the supervision of county probation officers, be unchanged. (The committee's research expert, Dr. George Bemis, disagreed as to this point.)

A further report about the flagrant Illinois case where five children who had been very carelessly given to a doctor and his wife were found living in shockingly filthy conditions states that the woman hospital doctor who had placed four of the children in this home pleaded guilty in court of violating the Child Welfare Act in acting as an unlicensed child-placing agency and was given the maximum fine of \$500. The

doctor to whom the children were given by the woman doctor in the hospital was placed on a year's probation on the charge of contributing to dependency and he was fined \$500 and costs on another charge of operating a family home without a license; and his wife was given two years' probation.

The mills of the gods grind slowly!

"LIVING WAR MEMORIALS"

A TIMELY publication of the Russell Sage Foundation calls attention to a recent poll of five hundred United States towns and cities on their plans for war memorials; this and Canadian expressions of opinion indicate "strong popular feeling" in favor of living memorials. The report quotes a published letter from an American sergeant overseas who felt that any man in the service would rather see his name inscribed over "one small swing" in a playground than on "all the marble-columned temples" in the world. It is pointed out that the living memorial may well be a community center, defined as "a community building or buildings planned and equipped to serve the leisure-time needs of a particular neighborhood," or, in human terms, as "the organization of the residents of the neighborhood, democratically, for the purpose of . . . promoting the community interest."

The center makes possible the wise use of leisure by offering, for example, clubrooms, a workshop for hobbyists, an auditorium and stage for music-lovers and amateur actors, a gymnasium, perhaps a pool or an outdoor ball field, which the average person cannot afford for himself but which the community group, in the opinion of many, can easily afford. And as the home of local clubs, athletic teams, and hobby groups, the center becomes the "living-room of the community," humming with wholesome social activity; not least among its functions is to rescue people from the all-too-common curse of loneliness. "Thus the community center is an investment in happiness and health."

"Neighborhoods and communities vary in social composition, in the history of co-

operation between persons and groups, and in the existing facilities and programs." The result is that community centers vary in their services and organization, and there is no fixed pattern either of program or of building and equipment.

The new R.S.F. publication¹ is a bibliography with helpful comments and suggestions. It is a special piece of library research, prepared because of the postwar interest in living war memorials and the growing awareness of the need for democratic community organization.

If "war memorials should be living instruments of community service," then this publication would seem to show that "the well-run center—whether large or small, imposingly or modestly housed—can be such an instrument." The work of the settlements, community councils, recreation departments, and sectarian social centers has not been covered because of space limitations.

PUERTO RICAN WORKERS WIN BACK WAGES

A SUBSTANTIAL increase in income for a large number of workers in a "stricken land" is sure to be welcomed. A recent issue of the *Labor Information Bulletin* calls attention to the effect of the recent Supreme Court decision,² which held, in effect, that even though it might bankrupt the company, some one thousand employees of the American Railroad Company of Puerto Rico were entitled to approximately a million and a half dollars in back pay and damages. The summary in the *Bulletin* is as follows:

On November 4, 1941, an agreement was entered into between attorneys of the company and attorneys for the group of employees under which, upon receipt of the amounts indicated in the agreement, the company was released from

¹ *Community Centers as Living War Memorials: A Selected Bibliography with Interpretative Comments*, compiled by James Dahir. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1946. Pp. 63. \$0.50.

² *American Railroad Company of Puerto Rico v. Torres*, 67 *Supreme Court Reporter* 204 (Nov. 18, 1946); *Torres et al. v. American Railroad Company of Porto Rico*, 157 Fed. (2d) 255.

further payment because of back wages that were due. The amount paid represented approximately 45 per cent of the amount which would have been due these employees for overtime wages between 1939 and 1941. The employees later sued for the remaining amount due, plus an equal amount in liquidated damages. Judge Cooper of the U.S. District Court for Puerto Rico held that the original waivers signed by the employees were valid because (1) there was no basis to hold that the full amount of wages could be paid by the railroad, and (2) the full payment of the wages might have the effect of forcing the carrier into receivership or liquidation, thus having an adverse effect on keeping open the channels of interstate commerce.

When the United States Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Cooper's decision, it was held that an agreement to accept less than the full amount of wages due, including liquidated damages, was invalid and that even the existence of a dispute as to coverage did not validate an agreement to accept less than the amount legally due. The act "does not exempt employers who are in financial difficulties."

THE A.M.A. AND THE SURGEON GENERAL

THE SOCIAL welfare group, large numbers of whom have been supporting the health insurance proposals which were before the Seventy-ninth Congress, will regret that the A.M.A.'s house of delegates at the December meeting in Chicago not only opposed the health insurance bill, declaring that such legislation would regiment all employed patients and physicians at an enormous increase in taxation, but also adopted a resolution censuring Surgeon General Parran for "political activities" and expressing "complete disapproval" of a letter in which he had said that every officer of the Public Health Service would "wish to familiarize himself with the President's message (to Congress, November 9, 1945) and [would] be guided by its provisions when making any public statement likely to be interpreted as representing the official voice of the Public Health Service." The Surgeon General was said to be urging support for

President Truman's program. He told the workers that "this has been the goal of all public health workers for many years . . . its enunciation . . . gives the Public Health Service definite objectives. . . ."

The *Louisville Courier-Journal* calls attention to an address of Dr. Milton I. Roemer in which "the idea of Government health insurance emerges in a light quite different from the baleful reddish glow which the American Medical Association applies to it." The further comment from the *Courier-Journal* is of interest:

The A.M.A. has done such an excellent propaganda job that you can scarcely visit a doctor's office or a hospital without somehow receiving the impression that the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill was designed to ruin you. You absorb the alarming thought that Government health insurance is "socialized medicine," and that "socialized medicine" means some strange and ten-thumbed surgical neophyte is privileged to whittle on you.

This, Dr. Roemer told the Kentucky Conference of Social Welfare, is all foolishness. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill contemplates no such thing. There are dozens of commercial health insurance programs at work already. And none of these appears to be the handiwork of hidden fiends. You go to your own doctor or to your own hospital. The insurance company just pays the bill. This, says Dr. Roemer, is all the Government health insurance would do, except it would do it for everybody.

The most perplexing public health problems are among the families of lowest income. These families are unable to pay bills for private physicians or private hospital service. Similarly, fewer of them are protected by private health insurance programs. Public medical facilities are poor or nonexistent in many rural areas. And the old-time country doctor who cared for all people in all weather is almost as much a figure of the past as his horse and buggy.

The answer, we agree with Dr. Roemer, is a Government insurance program.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE WEST COAST

NINE years ago the National Conference of Social Work met in Seattle, and eighteen years ago it met in San Francisco. It is now time for another Pacific Coast

meeting, and San Francisco has again been chosen as the place for its sessions of 1947.

This year the Conference also has a western president—Dean Arlien Johnson of the Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Southern California. Miss Johnson is a veteran social worker and a distinguished teacher of social welfare. Good wishes to Dean Johnson and the Conference as we go to press.

WILLIAM HODSON MEMORIAL LECTURE

THE announcement of the William Hodson Memorial Lecture given at the University of Minnesota on November 26 gave his old friends an opportunity to recall again the services of one of our national leaders. The Hodson Memorial Lecture on "The Significance of Social Security" was given by Arthur J. Altmeyer of the Federal Security Agency. Serving as cosponsors of this lecture were the Minnesota Welfare Conference, the Twin City Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, and the Minnesota Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. The William Hodson Memorial Fund was provided by his friends to promote public knowledge and understanding of the field of social work, in which he had been a leader, first in Minnesota and later in New York.

IN MEMORIAM

MABBETT K. RECKORD, 1896-1946

SOCIAL work and especially child welfare work suffered a great loss in the sudden death of Mabbett Reckord on Christmas morning. Born in Maryland and a graduate of the University of Maryland, he had joined the social welfare organization in Chicago less than ten years ago, when he became director of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society. He had been a director of disaster relief for the American Red Cross, serving in the Puerto Rico area, and had also had an earlier experience in industrial relations, although he was new in the

field of child welfare when he became head of the Illinois Society. But his earnest and zealous efforts in his new work were unusually successful, and he had a wide circle of friends among Chicago welfare groups. In a relatively short time he had come to be considered one of the important executives in Chicago social work. He had become greatly respected by staff and board members alike, and it was hoped that he would have a long period of service. He was a member of the board of the Council of Social Agencies, of the Community Fund of Chicago, of the advisory board of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, of the Children's Committee of the Chicago Welfare Administration, treasurer of the Illinois Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, and a member of the board of directors of the Child Welfare League of America.

Mabbett Reckord was a firm and conscientious supporter of what he believed to be right and wise policies. Always extremely courteous, and with a gift for making friends even with those who disagreed with him, he was never afraid to support a minority group.

Chauncey McCormick, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Children's Home and Aid Society, said in a recent address:

... We are deeply moved by the flood of letters that have poured in upon us. It is significant that those which most truly appraise his contribution to the cause of child welfare come from social workers. . . .

He came to us in 1938 from the field of business; but his respect for the technical skill of his staff flowered in their devotion to him. He guided our society through a period of great expansion, simplifying and systematizing our procedures, and making it possible for us to keep more accurate records and to submit valuable reports to the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago and to the U.S. Children's Bureau. And he developed and expanded our medical service to a remarkable degree.

His work was his life; and yet he always found time to be interested in the personal anxieties or successes of his friends. There never was a man who gave so much of himself to others, and asked so little. . . .

RUTH GARTLAND, 1893-1946

RUTH GARTLAND, professor of social case work at the University of Pittsburgh, had been for many years a leader in the field of psychiatric social work and was a member of the executive committee of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers at the time of her death.

Born in Cleveland, she was graduated from the University of Chicago in 1915 and later received a Master of Science degree in social administration from Western Reserve University. She taught case work at Western Reserve and at the Chicago School of Social Service Administration for some years before she joined the Pittsburgh faculty in 1938.

A record of her work in Chicago will be found in a book published by the Univer-

sity of Chicago Press, *Psychiatric Social Work in a Children's Hospital*, which is based on the work in the University Clinics, where she developed a social service program. She is the author of many articles published in social work journals.

She had long been a well-known member and officer of the American Association of Social Workers, the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, and the American Orthopsychiatric Association, and at the time of her death she was a vice-president of the National Conference of Social Work.

Ruth Gartland had a wide circle of devoted friends, not only in Cleveland, Chicago, and Pittsburgh but in all parts of the United States, who will miss her fine and able leadership in the case-work field.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A NEW TYPE OF SOCIAL WORK

To the Editor:

The social settlement, we know, is not static but dynamic, progressive. The story of Hull-House, as set forth by Miss Jane Addams herself, is of course typical. Changes in conditions, in the character and complexion of neighborhoods, in ideas of service, and the like, call for readjustments by the settlement and appropriate changes in methods and technique.

Shortly after writing and mailing my Letter to the Editor of the *Social Service Review* on significant developments in the fields of psychiatry and psychoanalysis,¹ the *New Republic* published a most interesting and heartening article by one of the contributing editors of that journal under the caption "Doctor's Dream in Harlem." The doctor of the tale is Frederic Wertham, a distinguished psychotherapist of humane sentiments and enlightened social views. The dream was a clinic at Harlem for Negro patients and treatment by what the doctor termed "social therapy."

This dream has recently been materialized and realized. The clinic has been opened and is now functioning successfully. Indeed, it has already surpassed the hopes and expectations of its founders and first supporters. These had little money, not enough to buy the necessary furniture for a modern clinic. The generosity of an Episcopal clergyman enabled them to fit up one room in the basement of a church, while other kindly persons donated a few tables, chairs, a desk, and a typewriter.

But the glad tidings spread rapidly in Harlem. The clinic soon received offers of aid, in the form of cash, service, and co-operation from unusual sources. Humble men and women, who needed the attention and care of the clinic, had neighbors and friends who wanted it to grow and thrive.

Of such, indeed, is the kingdom of modern social service. The patronage of the rich is not to be spurned, but dependence upon them is neither necessary nor desirable. The social settlements and the clinics and other institutions of the type we associate with the spirit and

philosophy of social service must be, and are being, increasingly democratized or "people-ized." Neighborhood councils and neighborhood co-operation and participation in other forms bring vitality and elasticity into the services. Inspiration, initiative, and leadership are, of course, as essential as ever. At all times, the many will owe not a little to the few who have vision, public spirit, and a lively sense of social responsibility and the imperatives of social justice. But the appeal must always be to grass roots, to the men and women, boys and girls, who know and feel the needs that are not met, the problems not solved, in their lives and in the lives of their friends and neighbors.

Let us return to the Harlem illustration. Some of the respectable white residents of Harlem had told Dr. Wertham that the Negro residents would not trust him and his associates and would not use his clinic. He did not argue with them. He had his own ideas. He did not have to wait long for confirmation.

Tuesday and Friday evenings were announced to the Harlem public as the service hours. The news of the kind and quality of the service offered spread fast. We read in the account of the *New Republic* of June 3 of last year:

They were just people with troubles, all kinds of troubles. Real, practical troubles piled on top of psychotic ones. People who were frustrated because they lived in the rotten tenements of a dirty, filthy iron-bound ghetto; because they went to war to fight for a democracy they didn't have; because their kids had no place to play and were forming gangs; because they had poor jobs and worse pay; because their skin was black.

They were people pressed down into a feeling of miserable helplessness, pressed down so far that they were mentally and physically sick and tired of living.

So they stood there outside the door on Tuesday or Friday evening, patiently waiting for a psychiatrist to give them a thin slice of hope and meaning. . . .

Four psychiatrists, each in his own cubicle, separated from the rest of the room by screens. And afterwards, if you had a quarter and wanted to pay, you dropped it in the box. Otherwise, everything was free. If you needed carfare to New Jersey, they'd lend it to you; if you didn't have enough

¹ See this *Review*, XX (September, 1946), 422-24.

money for medicine, they'd buy it for you. No red tape, no appointments necessary. You simply walked in off the street and nobody was interested in your skin color, race, religion, sex, or politics. You were just somebody who needed help.

"For me, one of the wonderful things about the clinic is that these people come here without fear on their faces, without suspicion," said one of the women psychiatrists. "They come here as if they've been waiting for a long, long time for the place to open. And they have a pride about the place. They get a kick out of each new piece of furniture as if it belonged to them. One of my patients even said he was going to make a lamp for us at school. . . ."

I have seen no reports of like clinics in other communities, black or white, as the direct consequence of the Harlem example. But social workers being what they are, we may confidently expect imitation or emulation of the Harlem clinic elsewhere, particularly in the more progressive cities of the South. Physicians and trained nurses have always been either residents or collaborators of our social settlements, and it is only natural that psychiatrists and psychoanalysts should now seek such collaboration or respond to calls from the well-managed and established settlements. No longer, as I attempted to show in a recent letter in this *Review*, are the psychoanalysts either hostile or indifferent to the spirit and aim of the practical social reformers. Their isolation and aloofness are things of the past. Their procedures and methods, likewise, are undergoing welcome changes. These changes in the direction of democracy, efficiency, and economy should—and no doubt will—bring them new contacts, patients from groups never before reached, and deeper satisfactions than they have experienced in catering almost exclusively to the wealthy, privileged, idle, and parasitic. Thus the benefits to be reaped will be mutual. And society as a whole will profit both materially and morally from the extended and improved collaboration.

VICTOR S. YARROS

HULL HOUSE

THE PECKHAM EXPERIMENT: A PIONEER BRITISH HEALTH CENTER

LONDON

To the Editor:

Before the war three of Britain's doctors decided that a new approach to medicine must be made if positive health was to be gained by ordinary people. To put their theories into prac-

tice, they opened a new kind of club, in which your readers will be interested.

Standing back one hundred feet from the pavement of a quiet street, only a stone's throw from a main thoroughfare in the South London district of Peckham, is a streamlined three-story building of cream concrete and glass, which houses one of the most interesting medical experiments of recent years. Though high explosives have left scarred gashes where shops used to be and though flying bombs have wiped out hundreds of houses in Peckham, by some miracle the Pioneer Health Center with its long, sweeping, glass-fronted, sun-trap balconies stands almost uninjured.

Its existence as a health center was brought to a temporary halt by the war; the building was converted into a war factory, as Britain mustered all her available resources for total war. Now that the war is over, the Pioneer Health Center is coming back to life, and similar centers are being planned for other towns.

The three main personalities behind the experiment are Dr. G. Scott Williamson, Halley Stewart research fellow; a woman doctor, Dr. Innes H. Pearse; and a woman biologist, Miss Lucy M. Crocker.

PLAN FOR A NEW APPROACH TO HEALTH

Dissatisfied with their medical experience, which showed, as they believed, a wrong approach to health, they began to work out a plan for a new approach. Their object was to be not the treatment of sickness but the active promotion of good health; their field of study and observation not the diseases of sick people in hospitals but the condition of ordinary folk going about their business, who might, therefore, at first sight be supposed to be in good health.

They decided to offer families a health service in the form of a family club providing periodic health overhauls for all the members of the family whatever the state of their health and, in addition, health services for infants, children, and parents alike. This club was to serve as a laboratory, using human families as its material and making possible the study of their daily condition without in any sense restricting their freedom.

Their first venture was to take a house in South London equipped with consulting room, small clubroom, and other essentials. One hundred and twelve South London families, four

hundred individuals, lent themselves as willing human guinea pigs.

The pioneers discovered that of the so-called "normal" people who attended a surprisingly small number was in good health and that the ailing majority benefited at once by treatment and advice. But they also learned that, although by these methods disorders could be detected and eliminated before they developed into disease or the individual even suspected their existence, this would not prevent their recurrence if the individual returned to the same conditions which had created ill-health. Man is a social animal, and ill-health is very often due to man's failure to adapt himself successfully to his environment. The lack of opportunity for development which the average small-income family has leads to social starvation and this, in turn, to apathy and, finally, to disease in some form.

The pioneers therefore set to work to raise the money and to work out the detailed plans for a more comprehensive health service. Seven years later the pioneer center was opened at Peckham.

A VITAL COMMON INTEREST

This health center was to cater to two thousand local families and to be within easy reach of them so as to serve the daily leisure needs and activities of the whole family, giving each member the fullest opportunity for following his bent, hobbies, and interests while still keeping the family together and indeed enriching them by giving them a vital common interest. The center was to be a clinic, a club, a welfare center, a source of recreation, and in a sense a composite home where all the members would have opportunities for self-expression, self-development, and social intercourse, but all within the integrating unit of the family and in contact with other local families.

In the center of the building is a large swimming pool with walls of glass, of which, too, nearly all the inner partition walls are made. The whole of the first floor of the building is taken up by a self-service cafeteria and a large hall for social purposes. From the long hall can be seen at one end a gymnasium, at the other a theater. The rest of the ground floor consists of infants' nurseries opening onto the grounds, an infants' and learners' swimming pool, cloak-rooms, and changing-rooms. The land in front of the building includes a concrete space for roller skating and cycling.

Along one side of the top floor is the only space shut off from general circulation. It is a consultation block, consisting of private consulting rooms, reception rooms, and biochemical laboratories.

MEMBERS ORGANIZE ACTIVITIES

One shilling per week admits a family to full membership. The only condition imposed is that the members shall submit themselves to a periodic medical overhaul.

The center is planned on democratic lines. Social life is organized entirely by the members and the committees they elect. They alone are responsible for plays, concerts, orchestras, billiards and boxing matches, social gatherings, dances, and all the activities of the center. There are no professional organizers or instructors.

There is no segregation in sex or age groups. This, the pioneer scientists believe, is one of the secrets of full human development. Young people in their teens have contact with the newly married. The bride of a few months meets the married mother of a family. Boys play billiards in the same room as the men, with the result that their behavior is modeled on that of their elders and horseplay is unknown.

A young woman, instead of meeting one boy friend in her own cramped home or in his home or at the street corner, meets scores of potential sweethearts against a natural family background. "We find," says Dr. Pearse, "that in this way they are far more likely to choose a suitable partner and make a happy marriage."

Young married couples who, when they first joined the health center, told the doctors that they had decided not to have children, after a few months of the center's "family" life, came to say that they had changed their minds. Where possible, young couples have, at their own request, a health overhaul before they start a family. Consultations with mothers always include fathers, too.

Expectant mothers were so healthy and normal that they were using the swimming pool sometimes only a few days before the arrival of their babies. Their pregnancies followed such an even, normal course that, instead of spending the ordinary fortnight or three weeks in a maternity home, they were brought back to their own homes forty-eight hours after the birth of their children.

The center's babies developed a physique and independence much above the normal,

sometimes learning to swim before they could walk.

YOUNG PEOPLE ARE ENTHUSIASTIC

This year two hundred of the center's families, the remnant of the two thousand whose homes in Peckham had been spared by the bombs, took a hall in the district and gave a party to the scientists. Young people surged round the scientists, discussing not their war experiences but their plans, particularly their plans for a home in the future. Above all, they asked, "When can we have our center open again?"

"It was one of the most heartening experiences I have had," Dr. Pearse told me. "We thought perhaps it would only be the 'bread and circuses' part of the center life they would remember, but it wasn't."

But already the "Peckham Experiment," germ of a new way of life, has started to spread. Two British towns, Coventry and Canterbury, have taken up the idea. Behind the Coventry scheme is Dr. Kenneth Barlow, a young man who was inspired by the enthusiasm of the pioneers and so convinced of the importance of their experiment that he took up medicine, with the idea of furthering the scheme. He found a warm welcome among the people of Coventry,

who, feeling that civic plans for rehousing were not ideal for their particular scheme, opened their own building society, borrowed the money, and have already acquired the land and drawn up plans for two thousand houses complete with pioneer center and farm.

THE CENTER'S FARM

When war broke out, forty-five mothers with ninety babies from the Peckham center went to the center's farm at Bromley, just outside London. Here these townswomen lived a communal life, tilled the ground, grew their own produce, milked cows, and made their own butter.

The Battle of Britain turned that pleasant spot into a battlefield, and the venture had to be given up. Bombs which descended on the farm destroyed much of the center's stored equipment as well as all the records made of the two thousand families of the center. Fortunately, by this time Dr. Pearse had already used these records for her absorbing book, *The Peckham Experiment: A Study of the Living Structure of Society*, an intensely human document, which is at the same time a milestone in psychological and biological study.

MONICA PEARSON

BOOK REVIEWS

Job Placement of the Physically Handicapped.

By CLARK D. BRIDGES. ("McGraw-Hill Industrial Organization and Management Series.") New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946. Pp. xiii+329. \$3.50.

Workmen's compensation laws have long operated against the employment of the handicapped. Merit rating—adjusting the premium paid by the employer in accordance with his accident experience—stimulated safety measures to reduce accidents and industrial disease, but it also suggested evaluation of applicants for work in terms of compensation risk. The handicapped worker has been considered a dubious risk on two counts: (1) he was more likely to have an accident and (2) if he had one, the resulting compensation payments would probably be greater than if the same accident befell a so-called able-bodied worker. No conclusive evidence could be produced to back up the first count. Indeed, such studies as had been made showed handicapped workers to have accident records as good as, or even better than, the able-bodied. The second count against the handicapped worker had, and still has, more foundation. Workmen's compensation laws have been modified partially to meet this problem, particularly by the establishment of second injury funds from which may be paid the difference between the disability resulting from the accident in question and the total disability of the worker (previous handicap plus new disablement). Such funds have almost without exception been applied only to certain major specified disabilities which together constitute total disablement. So long as the individual employer individually insures against his liability under workmen's compensation laws, so long will at least a residual of this obstacle remain to hinder full utilization of the handicapped worker in industry.

The employer's insistence that handicapped workers could not be employed in his plant because his insurance carrier would not permit it is an old story. The insurance companies always insisted with equal vigor that they made no such requirements, and during the war the Association of Casualty and Surety Executives issued a "Declaration of Attitude," which received wide publicity, to make their argument both forthright and official. Who said what first is

beside the point; the fact remains that it was not until the manpower shortage during the war that the handicapped worker really got a "break," especially with the large employer.

When industry did turn to the handicapped in large numbers, personnel departments were, by and large, quite unprepared to do a good placement job. With some notable exceptions, they simply had not had experience. Even worse, some had had unfortunate experience with bad placements, and doubtless almost all had misgivings about the handicapped as workers. Almost nothing had been written that would assist the employer in proper utilization of the handicapped. Such useful material as had been published was widely scattered, and exhortations to employ the handicapped workers were more abundant than directions and explanations about how to employ them successfully.

The United States Employment Service had been working on this problem since 1936, and, by the time industry began employing the handicapped in large numbers, the U.S.E.S. had its program of selective placement for the handicapped well formulated.¹ Consequently, the U.S.E.S. was in a position to advise personnel departments, as were also vocational rehabilitation officers and others who had been concerned with the placement of handicapped workers. Subsequently, a good deal of material was published that could be of practical value to those involved in placement of handicapped workers.² The principles laid down by the U.S.E.S. of analyzing the physical demands of the job in relation to the physical capacities of the worker were quite generally followed in all these plans and programs.

Clark D. Bridges' book, *Job Placement of the Physically Handicapped*, is the result of two years of study of the problem embracing a review of the literature, field studies in industrial plants, and interviews. It is directed toward "the em-

¹ The U.S.E.S. manual, *Selective Placement for the Handicapped*, was issued in published form in 1945. See this *Review*, XX (1946), 287.

² As one example, *Safety Training Digest: Industrial Rehabilitation* (New York: American Museum of Safety and the Center for Safety Education, New York University, 1945); see this *Review*, XIX (1945), 578.

ployer, the supervisor or foreman, the personnel manager, the safety engineer, and others who hire, select, place, and supervise man power." The book is clear, concise, and practical. The author states the problem briefly, cites authoritative sources to reassure employers about handicapped workers as efficient producers and as accident risks, and explains the necessity for appraising the job and appraising the handicapped worker in order to assure proper placement. Four principles in proper placement are emphasized: (1) "The worker should have the ability to accomplish the task efficiently"; (2) "The worker should not be a hazard to himself"; (3) "The worker must not jeopardize the safety of others"; and (4) "The job should not aggravate the disability of the worker." The major portion of the book is concerned with specific disabilities. The diseases and impairments considered are those of major industrial importance. For each, the author gives a brief, nontechnical explanation followed by discussion of the placement implications of the specific impairment or condition. The Appendix, also valuable, includes a plan for evaluating the seriously handicapped which was developed by the Institute for the Crippled and Disabled, the U.S.E.S. forms for job analysis and physical capacities appraisal, and, among others, a section concerning automobile driving by disabled persons.

The authorship of this book and the auspices under which this study was made and written are important and significant. Mr. Bridges is a safety engineer, not a physician, nor a placement specialist employed by a public or private agency devoted to promoting employment of the handicapped. He is the director of Conservation Services of the Zurich Insurance Companies. Personnel managers now have a practical guide for effective placement programs for handicapped workers from a source that could hardly be, from their point of view, more trustworthy. Furthermore, no one professionally committed to furthering the employment of disabled persons could possibly ask a fairer statement of the case than Mr. Bridges gives. This book may be recommended as a useful addition to the library of any social agency concerned with the work adjustment of handicapped persons.

As a kind of postscript, it might be repeated that this book is not the work of a physician but of a safety engineer who worked largely with medical sources and, to judge by the acknowledgments, with a considerable number of

specialists. Proper placement of the handicapped demands integration of the physician's knowledge into the placement process, and such integration requires that the physician familiarize himself with job demands in order to express physical capacities in industrial terms as much as it calls for basic medical information on the part of the placement worker. Social workers know only too well the problem of trying to help a workman apply the physician's vague recommendation of "light" work or "work that is not fatiguing." As Mr. Bridges puts it, "The personnel man and the doctor making the physical examination should close the gap between them. The personnel man should request reports in meaningful language, and the doctor should learn more about work operations to make such reports possible."

That this excellent book should come from the insurance field is auspicious for employment of the handicapped and the holding of wartime gains. When a representative of the medical profession writes a text on placement considerations with respect to various disabilities for the guidance of the medical profession, the circle will indeed be completed.

MARY E. MACDONALD

University of Chicago

Man, Morals and Society. By J. C. FLUGEL. New York: International Universities Press, 1945. Pp. 328. \$4.50.

This book by the author of the well-known *Psychoanalytic Study of the Family* is a scholarly work on the origin and function of the ego-ideal and the superego. While his orientation is primarily psychoanalytic, Professor Flugel's attempt to deal with the problem of the relations between ethics and psychology is elaborated and in part supported by data and deductions from general psychology and philosophy. Although it was written in England while the war was still raging, the labor and the cost of producing it seemed justified by the fact that "it seems pretty generally agreed that the failure of our civilization to solve so many of its greatest problems, and above all its involvement in two world wars within a quarter of a century, makes it more than necessary that we should think seriously about fundamental moral problems"; and that, the last twenty years having seen the accumulation of "considerable thought and observation on aspects of mental life which

clearly have a most intimate bearing upon ethics," there is an urgent demand for a revision of ethical thought.

The book begins with a validation of the psychologists' concern with morals as a normative discipline despite the narrow assumption that psychology as a science "has no concern with values as such." "Values happen to be facts of mental life" which psychology cannot eliminate from its data. Psychology as an applied science seeks to attain certain ends which inevitably imply certain values. And while applied psychology like other applied sciences is concerned with means rather than ends, "nevertheless the distinction between means and ends is nearly always relative. There exists a whole hierarchy of values, each of which is a means to the value that stands just above it in the hierarchy." Finally: "The substitution of the psychological for the moral point of view in any matter implies also a change in mental attitude—a change from a relatively emotional attitude to a relatively intellectual one."

It is quite impossible to render an abstract of the subsequent closely reasoned contents of the volume. Close study is required to follow the contingencies of each major idea. It must be sufficient to say that the reader will find here a most orderly arrangement and classification of many of the data and conclusions of psychoanalysis with regard to the moral nature of man. A glance at the Table of Contents will be indicative: "Origin and Function of the Ego-Ideal," "Social Approval and the Ego-Ideal," "Conflicts of the Ego-Ideal and Some Attempts at Their Solution," "The Infantile Origins of Aggression and the Super-Ego," "Taboo and Its Equivalents," "Projection of the Super-Ego," "Overcoming and Evading the Super-Ego," "The Psychology of Moral Progress," etc.

It is perhaps fitting that this review should close with a quotation illustrative of the author's own moral direction: "It is only when we have freed ourselves from the distortions due to both wishful thinking and to fear and guilt, and have become able to think objectively on social and political questions, that we shall be justified in regarding our civilization as reasonably secure. The acquirement of this attitude is the most urgent task of present-day culture. This is the real Riddle of the Sphinx, which, as seems all too likely, the race must solve or perish."

M. GITELSON, M.D.

Chicago

Youth in Trouble: Studies in Delinquency and Despair, with Plans for Prevention. By AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD. Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946. Pp. vii+135. \$1.50.

With this interesting, dynamic little volume the Leo Potishman Foundation makes its first bow. This Foundation was created with funds presented to Texas Christian University for publishing material in the field of the social sciences. Professor Porterfield, the author, is well known for his earlier contributions in sociology and juvenile delinquency.

The book contains only 135 pages. It is based on statistical studies of court-adjudged delinquents and of young people who were fortunate enough to have avoided the tribulations of court experience, probation, institutions, and parole. The author also draws heavily upon his familiarity with the efforts of others to study delinquency causation, treatment, and prevention, and upon a rich personal background of contact with disadvantaged youth. It is written in easy style and would make good popular reading. At the same time, it is an acceptable professional treatise on the causes of juvenile delinquency and the need for more intelligent handling of the problem.

We are reminded that complacent communities, ignoring their fundamental obligations to all children, complain against those who are influenced into deviant behavior. The complainants include parents, citizens with real or fancied grievances, and all kinds of private and public institutions, agencies, and establishments. The community, having complained, expects the juvenile court, the clinic, the training school, to take over and somehow create a well-adjusted, law-abiding citizen. The popular tendency to place blame for the child's delinquency chiefly upon parents is scored by Professor Porterfield. He suggests, as have many others, that problem children tend to have problem parents. Punitive treatment or social ostracism of parents seldom provides the constructive help they need in order to meet more adequately the heavy demands of fatherhood and motherhood.

Data concerning antisocial conduct were obtained with regard to 2,049 court delinquents in the Fort Worth area and directly from 337 college students without court experience. The latter group admitted to offenses similar to those with which the alleged delinquents had been charged. More adequate family and social resources protected them from the doubtful min-

istrations imposed upon their less fortunate contemporaries on the other side of the tracks. "What is needed is not to treat the more fortunate offenders as badly as the less fortunate in order to be fair, but to treat the less fortunate with the same consideration that we give to the more fortunate offenders."

Three well-selected case histories illustrate despair, aggression, and isolation and dissociation. The author emphasizes the interaction of psychogenic and cultural factors in the causal pattern. He pleads that delinquency is not an isolated problem. He believes its solution will require changes in American cultural patterns. "It will require the removal of many barriers that now stand between large numbers of our population and the satisfaction of their fundamental needs, to cause a sense of frustration." He sees room for the views of both Healy and Sutherland in explaining delinquency. He would have the community accept a far greater responsibility than is customary at this time for providing environmental influences under which work with the individual child and family may be carried on.

The final chapter advocates a plan of community organization for the prevention of delinquency through "the development of all youth to their fullest capacities as persons and citizens." There is nothing particularly new about Professor Porterfield's plan, which urges the creation of co-ordinating councils, a method of attack which aroused considerable attention in the thirties. There have been good and bad co-ordinating councils. Only the most carefully organized and most vigorously supported have succeeded in redirecting a community's whole pattern of social thinking. Yet until our citizens, individually and collectively, insist that every obstacle to normal, wholesome childhood development be removed, it cannot be said that a realistic attack is being made upon the problem of juvenile delinquency.

RICHARD EDDY

Illinois Children's Hospital-School
Department of Public Welfare

After-conduct of Discharged Offenders. By SHELDON GLOCK and ELEANOR T. GLOCK. ("English Studies in Criminal Science," edited by L. RADZINOWICZ and J. W. C. TURNER.) London and New York: Macmillan, 1945. Pp. xvi+114. \$2.50.

This useful book is a report to the Department of Criminal Science, Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge, by the best-known American students of what happens later to those who have been dealt with by our correctional programs. As Mr. Justice Frankfurter states in his excellent Foreword to this volume, the Gluecks have blazed significant trails, even if they have not arrived at the ultimate answers to the questions raised by crime.

Substantially, this book amounts to a summary and interpretation of the Gluecks' follow-up studies of the later careers of one thousand boy delinquents and five hundred young men offenders, dealt with by the Boston Juvenile Court and the Massachusetts Reformatory, respectively. While those who are interested in a more complete statement will need to examine the original studies,¹ the present work supplies a good brief description of the Gluecks' methods and findings, together with their opinion as to the values and implications of such studies.

Social workers in particular will recall the consternation which greeted the publication of *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* in 1934, which found that some 88 per cent of those studied continued to be delinquent (although not always legally defined as such) during a five-year span following appearance before the Juvenile Court. Although not all persons agreed with the various implications advanced by this and subsequent studies, the findings had the effect of disturbing the complacency with which many had regarded our social institutions for dealing with delinquency and at the same time served as a warning to those who had been guilty of publishing "success" statistics for probation and parole, which considered all those not actually returned to the jurisdiction of the specific court or institution as "successful cases."

The later studies of the same offenders, covering two additional five-year spans in the case of young adults, showed a steadily decreasing incidence of delinquency with increasing age, which was related not so much to chronological age, according to the Gluecks, but to a process called *maturaton*, which is admitted to be a complex concept. The years from twenty-five to

¹ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck: *500 Criminal Careers* (New York, 1930); *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* (2d. ed.; Cambridge, Mass., 1934); *Later Criminal Careers* (New York, 1934); *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up* (New York, 1940); *Criminal Careers in Retrospect* (New York, 1943).

thirty-five seem to be the most crucial for offenders because of a sifting-out process "which differentiates those who have matured normally from those who are unlikely to reach a stage of maturity sufficient to enable them to abandon criminalism, and who will either die as criminals or end their days in almshouses or on the streets" (p. 86).

There is a well-organized chapter on the prediction of criminal behavior, in which the case for use of prognostic factor tables is stated succinctly. Many social workers have serious questions about this device, believing that the dynamic aspects of human behavior cannot be measured statistically or expressed in precisely stated quantitative terms. The Gluecks, of course, do not ignore dynamic values. In discussing the selection of factors for prognostic tables, the following comment is made:

The psychiatric status of the offender, for instance, may bear a high relationship to his behavior under treatment and thereafter; but if most courts have no psychiatrists to aid them and those that do consult them only in exceptional cases, it would be wise to substitute a factor somewhat less predictive but easily obtainable as a routine practice of the courts [p. 70].

Those who believe that the psychiatric status of the offender is important in relationship to his behavior will continue to work for more and better psychiatric services.

The final chapter on the implications for reform of criminal justice is a good summary of the defects in our present-day methods of treatment of offenders. The authors particularly recommend (1) the separation of guilt determination and sentencing; (2) the use of qualified tribunals to determine the treatment to be applied; (3) a flexible treatment program subject to modifications based on the progress of the case; and (4) the protection of the rights of the offender to lawful and fair action. With these precepts no social worker will have serious disagreement.

This well-documented book is highly recommended to all those interested in the social treatment of crime.

FRANK T. FLYNN

University of Notre Dame

New Cities for Old. By LOUIS JUSTEMENT. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. Pp. v + 232. \$4.50.

This book undertakes to show that we not only can but should rebuild our cities completely every fifty years. Only a few structures, such as buildings of historic interest, would be spared from this program of ruthless demolition and reconstruction. The popular view that urban development consists in the eradication of slums and blighted areas is dismissed as a purely negative goal. Our cities must be progressively rebuilt in their entirety even though this may involve the razing of some comparatively new structures.

The author divides his material into three parts. Part I is a study of urban growth and decay; it examines and defines the problem and outlines the solution. Part II is a case study in city planning. Liberally illustrated with maps, plans, and photographs, this section begins with the plans for Washington, D.C. originally developed by Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, indicates both the deviations from this plan and the unplanned developments that have ensued, and then sets forth in a series of plates a scheme for the Washington of the future. Part III considers in detail the methodology of city planning, proposes specific means for implementing it, and examines many of the pitfalls likely to be encountered in the process.

The book is well written and very interesting. Apparently there is no aspect of this complex problem which the author has failed to note. He believes in his scheme and is out to make converts. He tries to answer objections in advance and is thus sometimes led somewhat afield. There is, for example, a long discussion of the defects in federal administrative practices with suggestions for improving matters. This is obviously included to allay the fears of those who might envisage defeat of the entire plan through the sheer ineptitude of "bureaucrats," but to some extent it does divert attention from the major issues.

The development of this revolutionary scheme apparently was inspired by two convictions: (1) Our present cities are ugly and inefficient and cannot be retrieved by any kind of piecemeal face-lifting operation; (2) something must be done to prevent excessive savings, which are an increasing threat to the national economy. The plan, therefore, is to safeguard ourselves against economic stalemate by a sweeping and continuous reconstruction program. Everything is to go—not only the slums but the skyscrapers, the business houses, the factories, and the institutions. The methodology

for achieving this goal is carefully explained. The basis of the entire scheme is public ownership of all urban land. The cost to the federal government for land assembly is estimated at one billion dollars per year in outright grants and 1.2 billion dollars in 2 per cent loans.

However logical the author's plan may be, the present temper of Congress and of state and local governments suggests that the likelihood of its receiving serious consideration is very slim indeed. But it deserves serious study. Almost every chapter contains at least one point that needs to be subjected to research or to debate. Some of these points are surprising because they seem out of line with the generally liberal outlook of the author. For example, restrictive covenants are accepted as a necessary evil, and a case is made for continuing them, though a five-year review is recommended to determine whether modification of the restrictions would be advisable. Likewise, the poor are relegated to hand-me-down houses, though, of course, in due time, no house would be more than fifty years old. Nevertheless, housing would thus perpetuate and enhance the tendencies that create castes. Local housing authorities are to be restricted to the task of studying needs, since, except for land assembly, the remainder of their present functions are to be turned back to private enterprise. This last point is in line with the author's hope that all segments of the population can be enlisted in support of his scheme by appealing to some extent to their self-interest.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

Small Communities in Action. By JEAN and JESS OGDEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1946. Pp. xix+244. \$3.00.

This book is a reprint of thirty-four stories that were published between September, 1941, and September, 1945, by the University of Virginia in its "New Dominion Series." Mr. and Mrs. Ogden, of the staff of the Extension Division of the University, were concerned with finding and describing "experimental approaches to democratic living" made by different small communities. They deliberately chose only "success stories" in the belief that they would be most helpful in stimulating other communities to action in bettering their community life.

In the process of selecting the community experiences to be described, the authors visited each community concerned and held discussions there with persons who had participated in or watched the development of the particular program.

For purposes of presentation the stories were grouped into four parts under the following captions: "Making a Better Living," "Planning for Health and Social Well-being," "Increasing Civic Awareness," and "Living a More Abundant Life." Part V is devoted to a discussion of methods of implementing community programs, and a brief conclusion deals with the changing rural community and gives a generalized picture of the "good community" of the future. The projects described include among many others a poultry co-operative, a co-ordinating council, a day-care project, a maternity center, and a state-wide fact-finding project.

The authors made every effort to get information concerning each enterprise that would answer such questions as: "Who started it? Why? Where did the money come from? How did people get interested?" and other pertinent points concerning its growth and development. However, when the story of several years of community activity is compressed into a few pages, it frequently becomes merely tantalizing to the student of methods in community organization. One can only wish that a detailed record of the "how" of many of these achievements were available.

Even though these stories will not meet the need of the teacher for process records of community action, they do furnish valuable illustrative material which should be highly useful to rural social workers and to teachers who are interested in rural welfare.

GRACE BROWNING

Indiana University

Co-operative Communities at Work. By HENRIK F. INFELD. New York: Dryden Press, 1945. Pp. vii+201. \$3.00.

This volume is based on a survey sponsored jointly by the Research Institute of Peace and Post-war Problems of the American Jewish Committee and by the Rural Settlement Institute, of which the author is the executive director. The study attempts to sum up the lessons offered by co-operative communities of the past and present, in the belief that group settlement

may be one instrument in the resettlement of some of the millions of persons dislocated by war. Mr. Infield does not advocate the co-operative community as the one and only solution but discusses in realistic fashion its advantages as well as the limitations and problems involved.

This interesting book describes briefly the co-operative communities of the past established in the United States and discusses at greater length some of the recent communities and those active today. Outstanding among these are the Hutterites, religious in character; New Llano, a socioreformistic community; and Sunrise Colony, a Jewish group, similar in type to New Llano. Other chapters are devoted to the modern co-operative farms established by the Farm Security Administration (1937-43) and to three active modern types in foreign countries: the Ejido of Mexico, the Kolkhoz of the Soviet Union, and the Kvutza of Palestine. The origin and motives of each community; the membership requirements, duties, and rights; the racial, social, and political backgrounds; the administration and management; the degree of co-operation practiced; the finances; and the turnover are described, and the advantages and disadvantages of each community are appraised.

Mr. Infield emphasizes the basic distinction between past and present co-operative communities. In past experiments, the motivation was Utopian, the society was regarded not merely as a preferred form of organization but as an instrument of salvation and of radical reorganization of society. Because of this motivation, such societies have little to offer as patterns for co-operative communities today, although some of them—for example, the Hutterites—possessed features such as unified planning, acceptance of discipline, and a high degree of economic security desirable in any society. On the other hand, the modern type of co-operative community serves rational purposes. It may, like the Farm Security Administration farms, be one of several methods of rural rehabilitation; or, like the Mexican Ejido, it may be part of an effort to improve rural standards and agricultural output; or, like the Soviet Kolkhoz, it may be an instrument of agricultural mechanization. The modern co-operative communities have succeeded best when the political system of the country, as in Mexico and Soviet Russia, have favored their development. Thus, neither the Utopian communities of the past because of their motivation

nor most modern communities because of political implications are applicable to the conditions under which postwar resettlement has taken and will take place. The Palestinian Kvutza, since it suffers from neither of these drawbacks, is the most successful of the co-operative communities surveyed. It has developed out of economic necessity and has demonstrated that a co-operative community is an able instrument of rural rehabilitation. The modern co-operative has proved itself capable of attaining several important goals: the rehabilitation of the destitute farmer, the modernization of farming, and the raising of rural cultural standards.

The author describes the characteristics of a successful co-operative community based upon the experiences surveyed and described in his study. He concludes that, while no panacea, such co-operative communities would contribute largely to the success of postwar resettlement, particularly if resettlement takes place under controlled and well-regulated conditions and if groups are resettled in underdeveloped or undeveloped areas.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

University of Chicago

Relief and Social Security. By LEWIS MERIAM.
Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution,
1946. Pp. xx+912. \$5.00.

Twenty years ago Meriam's book would have stamped him a radical. Even during the early depression thirties his views would have been thought highly progressive. But measured against the views of the American people—as expressed by the Congress in the Social Security Act of 1935 and the 1939 amendments—the principles and methods Meriam advocates now seem to be sadly out of date.

Since 1935 was just a beginning, each year of experience under the act has sharpened the lines in its pattern and has brought increased and widespread support of the principles on which it is based. It was conceived as a practical measure for evolutionary progression in the direction of comprehensive contributory insurance protection against the major economic risks for all gainfully occupied people and their dependents. While it has yet far to go, it is well on its way.

Meriam would take the American people back to 1935 and start over again. He would do away with the social insurance principle, both

its value in substance and in the hearts of the American people.

To do the whole job in social security (he would retain the name) he would provide "a rigidly established minimum health and decency standard" as a "floor under the individual below which he could not fall without becoming eligible for assistance from the public treasury."

The single condition of eligibility would be the means test. With federal grants-in-aid, the states would "provide universal, comprehensive, and co-ordinated protection according to a very low minimum standard. This standard could well be based on the amount required in those states which have the lowest costs and levels of living. The standard should be designed not to raise the level of living possible through benefits above that which persons in those states can achieve if fully employed at prevailing wages for employees in the lowest wage classes in that locality." Acknowledging the inadequacy of such a nationally required standard "in the states with higher costs of living and higher wage levels," such states, he says, "have the resources and tax-paying capacity to provide higher levels of relief and social security benefits if the voters of those states desire to provide them for their citizens." (The words "relief" and "social security benefits" apparently are used synonymously.)

Few people, perhaps, would differ with Meriam's assumption "that the basic principles of the American way of life . . . are to be preserved, and that the power of the state is to be kept constitutionally circumscribed in the interest of the individual and groups of individuals constituting political minorities." The individual, that is, must be free "to go his own way in the pursuit of happiness . . . ; to achieve or attempt to achieve personal economic independence free from control of the state so long as the individual proceeds within the law . . ."; to have ownership and free use of productive property. Other authorities may also agree that "social security and relief are not in and of themselves directly productive; they are primarily defensive devices"; and that "for normal persons able and willing to work, a useful job is generally preferable to any kind of benefit."

"The basic objective of relief and social insurance," he says, "is to relieve need; and relief of need necessitates some redistribution of income." Finally, he states that "in a free society that strives to preserve opportunity and liberty

for the individual, it is hard to justify the use of the sovereign power of the state to take the earnings and the property of one citizen to give to another if the one to whom it is given is not in need according to a fairly strict definition."

It is perhaps here in the expression of objective short of established perspective, and in his attempt to reconcile the right to the various freedoms and liberties with the right to economic security, that Meriam seems most out of step with the many realities which the nation has already faced and toward which it has already charted its course of action.

It can surely be said that the American people want the economic "floor under the individual" established at a sufficient elevation to safeguard reasonable equality of opportunity for all to enjoy the liberties and freedoms for enterprise and ownership and further productive use of personal property. It remains, nonetheless, a minimum calculated to fall short of hazard to incentive and initiative.

Further, apart from the substance, it must have the all-around feel and flavor that the American people deny they can find in any kind of "means test benefit." Meriam acknowledges this latter need and strives to make his program meet it. He is unsuccessful.

Social workers continue to strive valiantly to make public assistance increase independence and self-sufficiency among its beneficiaries. This is acknowledged to be in the interest of the nation as in the interest of the individual. They are not satisfied with current or foreseeable results. Rather, they look forward with enthusiasm to the time when public assistance in common with contributory social insurance will be universal in coverage and reasonably adequate in substance. With equal enthusiasm they look forward to the time when the volume of public assistance will be reduced to residual dimensions in relation to social insurance. They then see the social services related to the economic need, one among the many needs, matched by resources sufficient for the job to be done.

Meriam, on the other hand, would assign social workers a role long established as sterile in its effect. In so doing, he credits them with prowess they cannot and do not acknowledge for themselves.

He would divide all social security beneficiaries on the basis of those reasonably competent to manage their own affairs and of those unable to manage their affairs "with a passable degree of success."

Because of support from the public treasury, the first group would be denied the full freedom in handling their money that is enjoyed by those supported fully by their own efforts. They would be subject to "sparingly exercised" supervision in the interest of sustaining personal independence and self-sufficiency.

The second group "in return for their benefits . . . would be required to accept guidance and counsel from qualified public officials whose objective would be rehabilitation." Certainly, such unrealism in concept of human motivation calls for no further critical analysis.

Parts I and II, encompassing about half the 870 pages in the book, will be useful to social workers and students interested in social security. Part I offers a well-organized outline of the historical background of social security and of related efforts, including W.P.A., N.Y.A., C.C.C., Surplus Commodities, and Farm Security. There is an analysis of the Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act, exclusive of the 1946 amendments to these laws, which were enacted just after publication. It should be pointed out, perhaps, that the amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act radically modify and expand that program.

Part II offers a useful analysis of the impending new system of social security in Great Britain, comparing the Beveridge proposals with the government's official White Paper platform for action. The New Zealand system is also analyzed for helpful reference.

ROBERT W. BEASLEY¹

Social Security Administration
Chicago, Illinois

Health Insurance in the United States. By NATHAN SINAI, Dr. P.H.; ODIN W. ANDERSON; and MELVIN L. DOLLAR. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1946. Pp. xi+115. \$1.50.

Opponents of government sickness insurance are now pushing voluntary health insurance as an alternative to what they commonly refer to as "socialized medicine," "political medicine," and "compulsory" health insurance. The big issue today is not whether medical care will be

distributed and paid for by prepayment but rather whether it shall be accomplished by so-called "private" and "voluntary" plans or by the government. The American Medical Association and its state and local counterparts, the several national, state, and local hospital associations, the National Physicians Committee, and similar organizations are all putting great vigor and considerable resources into the campaign to get voluntary plans under way and to convince the American public that the job can and will be done "without governmental interference."

The choice must be made between voluntary and compulsory health insurance, and, to make a wise decision, the people should be given many more facts than have been produced to date. Presumably, that system would be chosen that would provide complete medical service to all the people with maximum quality and efficiency and minimum cost. How can we know with reasonable assurance which system will come nearest to providing complete coverage and a comprehensive service of high quality that can be administered most efficiently and at the lowest cost? Since most of the other nations have compulsory health insurance, there is abundant material for appraisal of that approach. Much of these data has been studied objectively, and the results are available for all to examine. Most of the nations having compulsory systems have adopted them only after long and unsatisfactory experience with voluntary plans. This would seem to place the burden of proof on the proponents of voluntary health insurance who contend that they can succeed where their counterparts in other nations have failed.

Although the United States has had no experience with compulsory health insurance, it has had, and is now having, wide experience with many kinds of voluntary health insurance. These plans have literally "mushroomed" since organized medicine in 1939 decided to push voluntary plans as a counterattack in its war against compulsory measures. With so many experiments going on it should be fairly easy to study them and to reach some objective conclusions about the effectiveness of the voluntary method. What income groups are buying voluntary health insurance? Are the middle- and low-income groups well represented among those buying this protection? Can the voluntary plans offer a comprehensive medical service? What are the premium rates and what proportion of them go for so-called administration?

¹ The opinions expressed in this review are those of the writer and do not necessarily represent the views of the Social Security Administration.

What is the turnover rate, and why do people drop the protection after once enjoying it? How do the service and indemnity plans compare in the degree of protection afforded to the patient, and what are the advantages and disadvantages of each for the patient, practitioner, and the hospital? What about sponsorship—that is, can any conclusions be drawn about the relative effectiveness of plans sponsored by organized medicine, consumers, industry, labor, and small groups of doctors?

When the Committee on Medical Care and the Changing Order of the New York Academy of Medicine engaged Dr. Sinai and his associates to make a study of health insurance in the United States, it was expected that the voluntary plans would be examined with thoroughness and objectivity to shed all possible light on these questions. Nathan Sinai, a doctor of public health and director of the School of Public Health at the University of Michigan, has been a close student of health insurance for upward of twenty years and is widely known for his competence and impartiality in this field. He and his associates have produced a sound and valuable report, but it does little more than lay the groundwork for the research that must follow if the foregoing questions are to be answered factually and conclusively. This little book clearly draws and analyzes the issues, but it does not provide the factual data out of which the conclusions must derive.

It must be said that the failure of the study to accomplish the larger task was not the fault of the authors. They made competent use of whatever published data were available to them, but it is apparent that the several voluntary plans are just not making available the facts that would permit a thorough and objective evaluation of what they are doing. Perhaps it is the nature of private and voluntary organizations not to make regular and complete reports to the public. Nonetheless, it is clear that if their claims of experimentation and other protestations of high public purpose are to be taken seriously, the voluntary prepayment plans have a responsibility to make public the facts about their membership, service, costs, and administration. The material they have produced to date, almost without exception, would have to be classified under the heading of "promotion." Much of it is plain ballyhoo and propaganda.

Of the seven chapters in the present study, three are historical: an introduction; a chapter

describing the growth of the "health insurance movement" from 1910 to the present; and one on the "attitudes of professional, governmental and lay groups." Two chapters present descriptive material regarding the various voluntary plans: one the enabling legislation, and the other "characteristic features of voluntary plans." The remaining two chapters analyze the problems inherent in the operation of voluntary health insurance, with some evaluation of their accomplishments. Though the study is concerned with voluntary plans, primary attention is given to the Blue Cross in the hospital field and to medical-society sponsored plans in the area of general medical service.

The "problems before voluntary plans" that are discussed in this report are the important matters of coverage, both geographically and by income groups, extension of benefits to low-income groups, centralization and co-ordination of plans, availability of health facilities, unemployment and maintenance of membership, organization and administration, scope of benefits, and quality of service rendered. Some serious, and perhaps insuperable, problems face the voluntary plans in each of these areas.

One of the most serious problems is how to extend these services to low-income families. Medical care, even under prepayment plans, is relatively expensive; and, to date at least, voluntary plans have uniform premium rates regardless of the purchaser's income. Public subsidy has been suggested as the way to secure these services for the low-income groups. Commenting upon this, Dr. Sinai points out some of the implications of the subsidy system, some of which might not be acceptable to either the voluntary plans or the government:

.... Finally, there is the issue raised by the existence of multiple voluntary health insurance plans as well as the limited services included in the plans. In general the group of the population that needs government subsidy also needs comprehensive services. In order to provide these services the majority of existing medical plans would need to include many services now excluded. And because of the autonomy of the plans, contracts to provide services would need to be drawn with hospital plans, medical plans, and, ultimately, with dental, nursing, and other plans. Thus government would be placed in the position of integrating the plans and, perforce, settling many issues that now serve to obstruct integration or amalgamation.

Most social workers, on the basis of their own experience, will earnestly hope that we can

avoid the vicious subsidy system in connection with health insurance.

The report draws attention to another effort by the voluntary plans to secure wider coverage by such "quasi-compulsory devices" as contributions by employers or legislation requiring employers to provide protection for their workers against the costs of medical care through the established voluntary plans. In view of the violence with which these groups have attacked "compulsory" health insurance, it is more than inconsistent for them to come forward with requests that the government *compel* persons to insure with the *voluntary* plans.

One of the most ominous developments in voluntary health insurance is the current campaign (successful in thirty-one states to date) of the medical societies to secure state enabling acts that give the respective societies complete control over the medical plans which they set up and which have the effect of forbidding any organization but a medical society to set up a prepayment plan. If this campaign is successful, consumers and labor unions and other *genuine friends* of prepayment will find the door locked against any opportunity to participate in the development of voluntary plans. The friends of voluntary health insurance should realize that prepaid medical care might be available only from plans that are formulated and operated by organized medicine. Commenting upon this, Sinai correctly states that "in the field of insurance the physician is still a layman," and, further, "the time is past when any program that involves two groups is to be dominated completely by one, in this case either the profession or the public." Even if one believes that organized medicine is honestly convinced now that health insurance is desirable, it is easy to agree with Sinai that, after years of extravagant criticism of the method, medical societies may experience difficulty in persuading individual physicians that health insurance is desirable and that they should support it.

The future of voluntary plans, Sinai believes, depends "first upon the degree to which medical statesmanship replaces the strategy and tactics of defensive warfare." Whether the voluntary plans alone can accomplish the objectives of health insurance is summed up by Sinai as follows:

Will they be given the opportunity to work out the solutions? The opportunity involves time, in terms of years, plus another factor, that of unques-

tionable evidence that each year that passes produces tangible progress in terms of better organization and wider coverage. Nor will it be permissible to base a judgment concerning the medical plans and their future upon the accomplishments of the Blue Cross hospital plans. And, by the same token, no valid judgment concerning the probable accomplishments of the Blue Cross movement can be based upon the attainments of a few of the plans while the others lag. In short, the evidence must involve a widespread pattern of progress where the hopes for the future are supported by the accomplishments of the immediate past. If the future holds the answer, the present is the logical time to consider some of the problems, the solution of which will be used to measure progress from year to year.

With this clear statement of the issues and the problems facing voluntary health insurance, it is to be hoped that these bodies will proceed with alacrity to work for their satisfactory solution and that in the process they will take the public into their confidence at every step.

ALTON A. LINFORD

University of Chicago

American Government in Action. By MARSHALL EDWARD DIMOCK and GLADYS OGDEN DIMOCK. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1946. Pp. 946. \$4.50.

Two recognized students of political science, man and wife, have co-operated in preparing this textbook for use in introductory college courses in government. The title, *American Government in Action*, accurately reflects their objectives. They sought to deal not only with the powers, structure, and procedures of government but also with its manifold and diverse relationships to the economic, social, and cultural life of the country.

As most persons who have struggled with book-writing have learned, no one plan is perfect, each has its advantages and disadvantages, but the writer must finally settle on one plan and go ahead with it.

The great merit of the Dimocks' plan is that it will help to develop in the minds of the students not only an over-all concept of government and its activities in present-day America but a good classification of the diverse subjects in the field. They will be aided in obtaining an orderly array of mental pigeonholes in which they can store the results of subsequent study and reading. The authors, too, have not con-

fined themselves to political science narrowly defined but have recognized the contributions of economists, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and others. One gets the impression that nothing of great consequence has escaped the comprehensive reading of the authors and is not touched upon in the text: this statement applies both to current writings and the classics in the field.

The difficulties with their plan are two, and they are interrelated. The book is necessarily long, 885 large pages, exclusive of the Appendixes. Yet so wide is its scope that the discussion of each particular subject must necessarily be brief and elementary. For example, the book has twelve parts. Part IV, "The Problem of Cost—Taxation and Expenditure," consists of about 34 pages. Part XII, "Government and Social Welfare," which includes education, contains about 52 pages, not counting the final chapter on "The Future of Popular Government in the United States." What the student can get from the main text is the rudiments, or perhaps it would be more descriptive to say "high lights." But it should be noted that the authors have endeavored to stimulate the interest of the students by raising in many chapters pertinent questions which are left unanswered, and at the end of each chapter are listed "Supplementary Reading," including sometimes "Great Books To Read."

A reviewer largely inexperienced in the art of teaching is not qualified to discuss the merits of the book from the standpoint of the purposes for which it was written. It would seem to me that the value of the course in which it was used would depend in part upon the amount of supplementary reading required or stimulated. The scope of the book is so all-embracing that it would have to be a long course if extensive supplementary reading were done on each subject treated, but I doubt whether such action would be necessary. The book would give the student a good subject classification, and the teacher could select those special subjects into which, according to his judgment, the students should go more intensively.

The book is not designed for the specialist or for the general reader reasonably well informed regarding government. Not only is the treatment of the specific subjects too summary for him, but, unless he is himself a teacher or has a curiosity about the art of teaching, he will be handicapped in getting at the essentials by the devices used to stimulate the students and by the extent to which terms familiar to him are

defined. He may, however, find the book of interest as a demonstration of the authors' art in gleaning the literature in the field.

LEWIS MERIAM

The Brookings Institution

India's Population: Fact and Policy. By S. CHANDRASEKHAR (SRIPATI). New York: John Day Co., 1946. Pp. 117. \$2.00.

The author of this research study is a young Indian, highly educated in his own country and at New York and Columbia universities, now a research associate in Indian economics at the Iranian Institute and School for Asiatic Studies. Despite the technical nature of the book it seems evident from its Preface that he desperately hopes it may help to secure immediate supplies from this country: "to stave off the impending famine" of unimaginable proportions and at least "to anticipate the future and plan to meet the basic, irreducible needs." A more elaborate study is promised in his forthcoming book, *India's Population Problem*. The present book has three parts: "Demographic Fact," "Public Health," and "Toward a National Population Policy." Furthermore, each part is made up of compact, meaty paragraphs, accurately captioned, while twenty-six tables and seven appendixes provide important statistics; and careful documentation, a Bibliography, and an Index add to the total value.

Part I presents India's four hundred million inhabitants as probably four times the number in the sixteenth century and as comprising a fifth of the world's population today. Yet, compared with many other countries the rate of India's population "had not increased with extreme rapidity." Also the mean density of population, while much greater than ours, is less than that of England, Germany, or Japan. The reported increase for the decade ending in 1941, of five million annually, has been augmented by comparative peace, better census operation, health measures, absence of severe famines, irrigation, and flood control. Long-standing factors are the overwhelming majority being in the married state, the influence of the joint family system, and ignorance and unavailability of contraceptives. Various related problems are comparative scarcity of females, rural-urban ratios, growth of cities, immobility of the population, and frightful housing conditions in vil-

¹ The United States government finally did send a large amount of relief.

lages and industrial cities. Population distribution is discussed under the headings of literacy and education, language, religion, and occupation.

Under Part II, "Public Health," statistics showing extreme paucity and geographical concentration of hospitals, doctors, nurses, dentists, and pharmacists prepare the reader for staggering statistics of deaths, especially among infants, children under ten years, and women in childbirth or of childbearing age. Life expectancy in India was thirty-two years in 1941. Malaria heads the list of serious diseases—a fourth of the population probably suffering from it in any year. Tuberculosis is the second great menace, while cholera, plague—the latter decreasing—dysentery, diarrhea, leprosy, and venereal diseases take heavy toll—quite unnecessarily heavy, the writer urges.

Finding no population policy for the nation extant, Dr. Chandrasekhar proposes his own. First, he insists that the inaccuracy and scantiness of Indian statistics be remedied. (According to the reviewer's observation the author quite understates this situation!) He wants a permanent body established in the central government like our Census Bureau. He further envisions a ministry of population affairs with the four bureaus of marriage and eugenics, growth and nutrition, education and vocational guidance, and special clinics. He wants uniform laws of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and succession (now following the customs of each religion separately), an improved marriage restraint act, premarital medical examination, birth-control facilities, attention to raising the purchasing power of the masses, education in balanced diets and giving up of dietary prejudices, the making of the country self-sufficient in stable foods, the education of all children of school age and of adults, especially illiterates, with maintenance of literacy once attained. In fact, the author insists upon a planned economy to embrace all aspects of India's national life. He evidently believes that sufficiency of proper food is the real crux of the population problem and that, while today his country can feed adequately only 330 million, it can well support many millions more through redemption of waste lands, scientific methods for increasing production per acre, a balance between agriculture and industry—both large scale and cottage type. He believes that due attention to improving the quality of the present generation will naturally lead to a sufficient falling off of the rate of population increase. For an entire program such as he pro-

poses Dr. Chandrasekhar finds essential the willing co-operation of the people as a whole; and such co-operation, he is certain, requires "conditions of complete economic and political freedom, untrammelled by any outside influence or control."

HAZEL E. FOSTER

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The Clock of History. By ALVIN JOHNSON.
New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1946.
Pp. 253. \$3.00.

The Clock of History is a collection of brief editorials written for the *Bulletin of the New School* and published over a period of fourteen years. Since there are twenty-two of these papers compressed in a compass of 253 pages, obviously the gifted author did not have space enough to develop elaborately his many-sided system of ideas. The writer himself points out that his principles are "organized not on logical but on agglutinative principles."

The substance of this volume is a defense of liberal democracy or democratic liberalism, the conditions of which are constructive peace and education, in particular adult education. Dr. Johnson emphasizes the significance of education not limited to the early years but continuing through life. "The great educational problem of today," he says, "is the problem of the illiberally liberally educated" (p. 249). The New School was founded in the faith that the liberally educated in the true sense of the term must play an important part in redeeming the modern world from the chaos of conflicting interests. The valiant efforts of the colleges and universities to train up the youth as true liberal personalities must be supplemented by continuing education in liberal principles throughout the adult period.

To the question, what makes a liberal for our times, Dean Johnson has an answer. First, he must be liberated from fear of himself, fear either of his own weakness or of his own strength. Second, a liberal in our day must recognize the immense variety of types of men making up the human cosmos. Third, the liberally educated man will recognize that, in the three million years man has walked the earth, "he has tried out many institutional forms, most of which are not identical with

those of American democracy." Fourth, the liberal will not quarrel with other men about their religion. And, finally, the liberally educated person will be ardently interested in the best that man has thought and done, whether books, architecture, symphonies, paintings, or other good things that are being done today, and the immensely greater number just over the horizon. But liberals cannot be made in childhood alone or in college alone. Education of this kind must be supplemented. We must get the young men and women of twenty-five and upward to open their minds to good sense.

The jacket of Dr. Johnson's book states more clearly than the reviewer can the essence of this work. "The pattern and purpose running through this book spring from a single source: the author's unshakable faith in liberal democracy as the most favorable seedbed for the growth of the individual, who is the origin of all true progress." Many have been Dr. Johnson's concrete achievements, but it is the dynamic vitality which he brings to the surface of his ideals that made him what he is—a great and unique American.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

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Human Dignity and the Great Victorians. By BERNARD N. SCHILLING. New York: Published for Grinnell College by Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xiii+246. \$3.00.

This little book surveys the humanitarianism of seven nineteenth-century British writers—Coleridge, Southey, Carlyle, Kingsley, Arnold, Ruskin, and Morris. With the exception of Arnold, who was a civil servant, their humanitarianism found expression in their writings rather than in any other kind of work. With that same exception, they were romantics who believed that men's potentialities had been better realized in the Middle Ages than in their own age of urban industrialism. There was a literature of protest, an appeal to men's conscience, a condemnation of the practices of their own age and country in the light of standards which they believed to be eternal.

What this book offers is therefore a boiling-down of the complaints of seven men without much documentation and without any very discriminating reflections. The selection of these particular writers is a little strained, in that Coleridge and Southey were perhaps not "great" and certainly not "Victorians," while Matthew Arnold was no backward-looking

romantic but rather a rational perfectionist inspired by the enlightened bureaucracy of continental Europe to hope for the spread of "culture" through governmental action. Such practical ventures as these men engaged in are seldom linked up with their writings: thus Ruskin's interest in Octavia Hill's work is passed over in silence, while the excellent reports that Arnold wrote for royal commissions do not seem to have been directly utilized. An introductory chapter on "The Condition of England" adds nothing to what is well known and readily available and indeed omits the historic revaluation which would regard eighteenth-century conditions as being virtually as bad as those of the nineteenth, although the slum housing, ill-health, and child-exploitation of rural domestic outwork were less obvious than similar conditions in the new mill towns. A chapter on "The Alleged Cause"—political economy—similarly fails to penetrate down to the psychological inadequacies and inherited religious attitudes that underlay all individualism and of which classical economics provided but one example.

Protesters rather than reformers, these writers initiated very little, except perhaps the vague sentimental "socialism" of a Ramsay MacDonald. Fortunately, however, they did lend their support to some of the practical, preventive, and constructive measures initiated by others. Such were education, sanitation, and charity organization. For sentimental charity, even the most romantic of these writers had scant respect. Thus we have Carlyle denouncing "sugary jargon of philanthropy" (p. 79); Kingsley viewing charity and poor relief as degrading confessions that society has not fully remunerated the laborer (p. 109); Arnold suggesting to his sister that the evils she is trying to alleviate would be better remedied (p. 131); and Morris boasting that he never gave a penny to a beggar (p. 184); to say nothing of Ruskin, with his proposal to have one social case worker for every hundred poor families (p. 165) and to make the employer responsible for the welfare of his employees (p. 168).

W. HARDY WICKWAR

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Health and Social Welfare, 1947. Advisory Editor THE RT. HON. LORD HORDER. London and New York: Todd Publishing Co., Ltd., 1946. Pp. 527. 25s.

This reference book, now issued for the third consecutive year, is planned as an authoritative reference annual and presents a great deal of information regarding the health and welfare services of Great Britain. However, the major emphasis throughout is on the health services, or what are referred to as the "medical and ancillary services."

Lord Horder in his very brief Introduction calls attention to a serious difficulty faced in preparing this edition:

In the present state of the country's medical services, with a revolutionary scheme actually being born whilst the volume goes to press, it has been difficult to choose subjects for special articles which form a feature of the book. The choice has fallen upon matters which may be considered to be in the van of medico-social progress and which are more closely related to the basic elements in Hygiene than to medical services themselves.

Although this appears as a 1947 annual reference book, some confusion arises from the fact that many of the articles were apparently written in the first half of 1946—for example, the Care of Children Committee (Curtis Committee) is listed under "Officially Appointed Committees and Reports," but although the Report of the Committee appeared in September, 1946, there is no reference to the report but merely a brief review of the Interim Report issued in March, 1946. The National Insurance Act, which was passed in August, 1946, is referred to as if it were still under debate: "If the National Insurance Bill now before Parliament is passed into law, almost everyone will become compulsorily insurable. . . ." Again, we are told that the Family Allowances Act, which is now in effect, "will come into operation from 6th August 1946." Such statements make a 1947 annual seem a little out of date. Again, although the Publishers' Foreword announced that "the Government's plans for new Health Legislation are dealt with fully, under the section 'Legislation and Policy,' while further references to the important revolutionary in the social life of the country will, of course, be found in the Official Statements of the Ministries concerned" (p. 37), an American student interested in the new Act will find the treatment disappointing, partly, of course, because the volume was apparently largely written before the Act was passed. The new National Health Service Act, which is summarized in Section 2, is referred to at one point as a "National Health Service Bill presented to Parliament in March,

1946; the aim of which is nothing less than to 'promote the establishment of a comprehensive health service designed to secure improvement in the physical and mental health of the people. . . .'" The summary of this important Act seems very brief (pp. 93-95), while later the British Medical Association's resolutions "relating to the National Health Service Bill" are given more space (pp. 216-19).

The first of the eleven different sections in the volume includes a series of short signed articles ranging from three to seven pages dealing with a very miscellaneous assortment of subjects including "Housing and Health," "Care of the Aged," "Parentcraft," "The Duties of an Industrial Medical Officer in a Large Factory," "In Prison and Out," "Principles and Plans in Sex Education," "Marriage Guidance," "Welfare in Industry," "A Hundred Years of Progress in Public Health." There follows Section 2—fifteen pages on "Health Legislation and Policy," including the history of various aspects of health legislation. Section 3, "Official Directories," is especially convenient for Americans, as is also Section 4, which includes "Official Statements" of the various ministries and cabinet departments and such important governmental services as, for example, the Assistance Board, Board of Control, Charity Commission, General Register Office, the London County Council. Section 5 presents a long list of brief statements about unofficial associations. Again very useful to Americans is Section 6, "Officially Appointed Committees and Reports"; Section 7 is entitled "Careers in Health and Social Welfare"; Section 8, "Directory of Organizations Interested"; Section 9, "Statistics and Tables"; Section 10, "Books, Periodicals and Films"; Section 11, "Who's Who in Health and Social Welfare."

There are some minor mistakes that a welfare editor might have found: For example, the article on U.N.R.R.A. does not refer to any time of termination, and the director is said to be *Fierelle* H. La Guardia. The older name of the Family Welfare Association is referred to as the "Charitable Organization Society."

While there is greater emphasis on health than on social welfare, the volume will be a convenient reference book to American students interested in the British health and welfare services, especially the former.

E. A.

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BRIEF NOTICES

The Year Book of Philanthropy, 1945-46. Edited by JOHN PRICE JONES. New York: Inter-river Press, 1946. Pp. xiii+87.

The John Price Jones Corporation is an organization of professional fund-raisers and public relations consultants. In 1940 this company instituted a series of yearbooks the purpose of which was to set forth as fully as possible the salient facts relative to charitable giving. Interrupted by the war in 1943, the series has now been resumed with the publication of this present volume.

The first chapter sets forth the general conclusions suggested by the data. It is interesting to note that, in spite of the generous giving to war-related causes, the peacetime agencies did not suffer; the public continued to support the permanent organizations at satisfactory levels throughout the war. Employee contributions to philanthropy increased during the war. This increase is attributed to the carefully organized efforts of the labor movements. It will be remembered that the salaries of the labor leaders who spent full time on fund-raising were paid by the National War Fund and the American Red Cross. Although an effort was made to interpret this arrangement as a scandalous use of charitable contributions, the figures on employee giving suggest that the investment paid big dividends in terms of total amounts raised; and there is some basis for believing that the plan also enlarged Labor's understanding of social work and gave labor representatives a real voice in the management of some of the nation's important philanthropies.

Since the end of the war, fund-raising has been in an unusually chaotic state. Capital fund drives deferred during the war have mounted to the dimensions of a flood. Many agencies are also seeking large increases for current purposes. And the suffering so universal throughout the world has rallied many groups to renewed efforts in behalf of overseas needs. The compilers of the handbook found that on June 30, 1946, no less than 347 fund-raising campaigns had been announced, with a combined goal of \$1,362 million. It is clear that most cities will face multiple and duplicating drives in the months ahead.

The data on over-all contributions are followed by chapters relating to specific causes. In addition to the social welfare field, these chapters relate to museums, universities and colleges, private secondary schools, hospitals, and religious organizations.

W. McM.

Out of Uniform. By BENJAMIN C. BOWKER. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1946. Pp. xiii+259. \$2.75.

Benjamin C. Bowker, now chief of the foreign news service of the *New York Post*, was called to

active service in the Army in 1940 and when he retired in 1946 was Chief of Army Orientation. In *Out of Uniform* he writes "a book about American war veterans of World War II . . . for those who remained civilians in the war years." "It was an attempt to show how things had been with approximately sixteen million young Americans who served in uniform, especially the main currents that would affect them after the war. It was not intended to prove any thesis." It is not an angry book—not angry enough in spots—nor does it prove any thesis. The author's basic conclusion is that the sixteen million veterans could constitute a "problem" only "if badgered and misunderstood" and that "they could just as readily become America's sturdiest assets if encouraged to submerge their identity as veterans into that of citizens." It is to facilitate the latter process through giving those who stayed at home information about those who served in uniform that this book is written.

Mr. Bowker thus addresses himself to an enormous task, for, as he himself points out repeatedly, the service experiences of the veterans he writes about were quite different, depending on where they served, not to mention the vast numbers involved. The problem of selecting material to present was therefore a difficult one, but one of decisive importance in determining the usefulness of the book. The author chose to cover a large area without going very deeply into any question or apparently weighing carefully the importance of the questions to be explored even superficially.

Since Mr. Bowker was Chief of Army Orientation his views on the Army orientation program are important. The attempt, early in the war, to build an "orientation course" around lectures in the camps by a group of civilians during periods when the men would otherwise have free time, the author calls "a spectacular failure." A new approach to orientation was attempted in 1943, when an officer charged with "orientation" was assigned to each regiment or similar unit. As the plan was finally operated, relatively small groups met at least once a week to hear a résumé of the news and the facts about some current problem, which was followed by free discussion. The author ascribes the failure of the program chiefly to the fact that "it obviously started far too late, especially in view of the inadequate preparation they [the soldiers] had received from education and public information media. For the difficult task, the personnel assigned were often incompetent, uncertain of goals and procedures, and nervously aware of violent opposition both within and outside the services." In the face of such opposition to a program designed to stimulate men to think about the world they lived in, even while in uniform, the services retreated "to 'safe' but unstimulating subjects."

M. E. M.

Criminology and Penology. By JOHN LEWIS GILLIN. 3d ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945. Pp. ix+615. \$4.50.

This is a competently written new edition of a standard textbook which first appeared in 1926. Dr. Gillin, who is professor emeritus of sociology in the University of Wisconsin, has had a long and distinguished association with this field. Here he devotes about one-third of his material to criminology, with the remainder of the text dealing with various aspects of penology. The entire work has five parts, treating respectively: (1) "The Problem of Crime and Criminals"; (2) "The Making of the Criminal"; (3) "Theories of Crime and Punishment"; (4) "The Machinery of Justice"; and (5) "Penal and Correctional Institutions." The fifth section comprises nearly one-half of the volume, and it includes the most interesting and most useful material for the social worker.

It is recognized that any scholarly compendium of this kind represents careful selection based on the author's judgment; consequently, it may seem unwise to comment critically on what is not included, since omissions of what someone else thinks is important are bound to occur. However, this reviewer believes that a subsequent revision of this generally excellent book might well include certain modifications.

Those who are interested in probation will be disappointed with the treatment of that subject, chiefly because of its orientation to the period of about twenty years ago. Case work, for example, is referred to only in passing, with the exception of an item contained within a list of so-called principles of probation which reads: "Each case must be handled by what is known as case-work methods" (p. 331). This concept is neither developed nor explained, and in view of the emphasis placed on the subject by the better agencies in the field this seems unfortunate. Likewise, the development of the federal system should be brought to the attention of students, especially in view of the hopeful improvements under the Administrative Office of the United States Courts.

In the prison field there is a chapter on "Recent Experiments in Administration," but there is noteworthy absence of a description of the work of Mr. Howard B. Gill at the Norfolk Prison Colony in Massachusetts, where in the early thirties he conducted perhaps the most forward-looking experiment in prison administration of our times.¹

¹ Readers interested in Mr. Gill's "Community Prison" experiment will find a complete description in Walter H. Commons and Others, *The Development of Penological Treatment at Norfolk Colony in Massachusetts* (1940). There are convenient summaries available in Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, *New Horizons in Criminology* (1945),

These omissions will detract from the value of the book for social workers, but otherwise it may be regarded as a substantial contribution. Many sections are outstanding in comprehensiveness and in point of view; to mention only one, the chapters on prison labor are notably effective. Throughout this work it is evident that at all times Dr. Gillin knows where we are in our slow and painful progress from private vengeance to public punishment to treatment.

FRANK T. FLYNN

Off to a Good Start: A Handbook for Modern Parents. By IRMA SIMONTON BLACK. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946. Pp. xii+256. \$2.50.

Out of her cogent experience as a nursery-school teacher and student of child development, Mrs. Black has produced this handbook for parents of small children. For those social case workers who are attempting to help parents or foster-parents deal with the everyday problems of the little child, Mrs. Black's book provides understanding and practical suggestions.

The book follows the natural growth pattern of the child himself. Starting with the baby, its seeking for satisfactions, and the parental ways of meeting and refashioning those early strivings, it moves to chapters on the child in his familial relationships, his adjustments to the world of children and adults outside the home, and finally his adventure into learning by play and schooling. Lying, sex play, selfishness, aggressiveness, are among the many behavior symptoms dealt with; whether to spank, how to prepare the child for going to the doctor, how to handle the sick child, what and how to "teach," are among the topics of interest and concern to parents. It is the normal Johnny and Mary Doe who move through these pages, and their run-of-the-mill parents who are intrigued or troubled by the constant mystery and challenge of a child's growth. Social workers, so often prepared to know the emotionally disturbed and disordered child, are sometimes quite lost in helping parents with those small, ordinary but troubling problems of the small, ordinary child. This book will be useful to them. It joins that increasing and welcome volume of literature on the child's normal behavior, how to prevent its distortion by anxious or bewildered adults, and how to foster and develop the child's healthy emotional growth.

HELEN H. PERLMAN

pp. 791-96; and in Fred E. Haynes, *The American Prison System* (1939), chap. iv, "A Community Prison." Mr. Gill's reports are likewise useful and may be found in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction*, especially for the years 1929-33.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Children in the Community: The St. Paul Experiment in Child Welfare. By SYBIL A. STONE, ELSA CASTENDYCK, HAROLD B. HANSON, M.D. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 317.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946. Pp. ix+182. \$0.35.

The Children's Bureau, well known for the quality of its work, has surpassed itself in the recent report of *Children in the Community*. The "St. Paul Project," as it was popularly known, reached a high level of attainment; and, to me, reading the details about it was a thrilling experience. In the first place, the whole undertaking followed a different pattern from previous reports, for, instead of studying the work completed by another agency, this was a project carried on by a Children's Bureau staff with the study made currently by the staff members who worked with the children instead of working from records, which are often incomplete and unsatisfactory.

That the staff, composed of skilled and well-qualified persons, decided that four out of five children had profited from the treatment given speaks well for the results of the work done.

Children in the Community is really an exposition of real child welfare, and the report represents a combination of the work done by several members of the staff, each qualified in his respective field. Their use of case stories was interesting. Instead of using the case stories to illustrate a particular point, several of the children known to the project were described in the earlier pages of the report, and later on we learn how the project services were utilized in the treatment of these children.

The method employed in the co-ordination of the services of other community agencies in the treatment suggests a valuable possibility and yet one too often overlooked in a given community where jealousies between agencies often-times seriously interfere with individual programs.

The report provides an excellent basis for staff-meeting discussion as it relates to the procedure followed in the work with the schools, the law-enforcing agencies, and the group-work

agencies. To accomplish satisfactory results, a community program demands participation by all groups, and the report shows to what extent this was accomplished.

The last chapter suggests the implications found in the report for other communities. We can only hope that the report may stimulate communities, large or small, to see what they can do on their own after a careful study of the community and with the report to follow as a general pattern.

MARY RUTH COLBY

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Food, Famine and Relief, 1940-1946. ("League of Nations Publications: II. Economic and Financial," 1946. II. A. 5.) Geneva, 1946. Distributed in the United States by International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York. Pp. 159. \$1.50.

This study, the third in the series devoted to an analysis of world food conditions under the impact of war, was sent to press at the time when former President Hoover in an address said that "hunger hangs over the homes of more than 800,000,000 people—over one-third of the people of the earth."

The author of the preceding volumes of this series, Mr. John Lindberg, was the main author of this study, which conveniently summarizes the principal facts in a brief first chapter. Detailed data and conclusions concerning the food-rationing systems and food consumption during the last war, the postwar food crisis, levels of food consumption in 1945-46, postwar relief activities, and morbidity and mortality may be found in detail for the various countries in the five chapters following the summary. The Appendix, which gives statistical data regarding the legal food rations for thirty countries, shows the principal food items available for the several consumer categories from 1940 to 1945.

"Food rationing was introduced in most of the countries of Europe early in the war. It was designed to secure equitable distribution of available supplies of essential food to all; to pre-

vent waste of essential materials, foreign exchange, shipping space and manpower; and to supplement and reinforce such measures of price-and-production controls as were deemed necessary for managing the war economy." In comparison with World War I, governments were on the whole remarkably successful in managing rationing.

There were two distinct types of rationing systems: the German and the Anglo-American. The former system, which obtained all over the Continent, solved the problem of maintaining a satisfactory human food consumption by reduction of livestock—chiefly pigs and poultry—and the transfer to direct human consumption of the feed crops so released. This, of course, lowered the animal-vegetable ratio in the human diet. All important foodstuffs were specifically rationed at so much per person per week or month. The quality of the diet was also determined. The consumers were divided into broad categories in which each received rations in proportion to need.

The efficiency of rationing anywhere in Europe was almost directly proportionate to the calorie level that the rations afforded. The higher the rations, the less important was the black market, and vice versa. Rationing proved efficient on the whole throughout the war in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, and most of the time also in the Netherlands; it was less successful in Belgium, France and Norway. In southern and eastern Europe it ultimately broke down altogether. But the more defective the rationing system, the less indicative of actual consumption are the legal rations. Only under conditions of extreme scarcity (as in Greece in 1943) have black-market supplies dried up.

Rationing of the Anglo-American type remained throughout the war more elastic than the German system and better adjusted to individual needs. In the United Kingdom, rationing was introduced chiefly in order to husband scarce shipping space and foreign exchange. Domestic output was directed toward production of bulky or perishable foods, whilst food imports were primarily directed towards providing for concentrated animal products.

At no period was there "an absolute limitation of the supply of total calories." A differential calorie rationing on the continental pattern was not needed. "Basic rations were on an equal per caput basis. Special needs of various groups of consumers for quality foods were met by special distribution schemes, superimposed, on the basic rationing system," such as special rations of milk and other protective foods for children,

nursing and expectant mothers; communal feeding, industrial canteens, and "British Restaurants." England also had a "point-rationing" system, which gave a rather wide consumer's choice.

In the Americas and the British Commonwealth outside the United Kingdom the supply situation was "less strained than in Great Britain," with rationing limited to animal foodstuffs, to prevent an uneconomic expansion of animal production, leaving a sufficient margin of such foods for export, lend-lease, and military needs. In the United States the British "point system" was also used, with the main foods—fats and meats and canned goods—being rationed on a separate point basis. The situation in Africa and Asia is also discussed.

The study later presents in detail the food-consumption levels for the various countries. The food situation worsened over wide areas later in the war and deteriorated at an accelerated pace until, in the spring of 1946, famine conditions prevailed in parts of Europe and the Far East. "The Emergency Committee for Europe has estimated that approximately 100,000,000 people in Europe will receive less than 1500 calories a day, and of these many are already receiving 1000 or less."

The study shows that in some countries the health situation continued on the whole to improve, despite the war. However, in other countries decided increases in mortality are noted. However, the full effects of malnutrition, starvation, and privations take a relatively long time to make themselves felt.

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United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, Report of the First Session of the Conference, at Quebec, Canada, October 16 to November 1, 1945. Washington, 1946. Pp. xvi+89.

One delegate to the conference of the forty-two countries that were members of the Food and Agriculture Organization said: "The armed forces have ceased to fight; but now a new army is appearing, an army of technicians, agriculturalists, scientists, laborers, which is commencing a fight against disorganization, a fight against poverty, a fight against famine, uncertainty, and evil." The chairman, Mr. L. B. Pearson, emphasized that "the needs were urgent, that decisions could not be postponed, and

that there could be no delay in going about the task of building a peaceful, orderly, and prosperous world."

The conference Commission A dealt with the broad subject of F.A.O. policies—what the Organization might do to realize its objections. Commission B dealt with organization and administration. The former allocated its work among six committees with specialists preparing reports on nutrition and food management, agriculture, forestry and forest products, fisheries, marketing, and statistics. Commission B had the task of insuring that the structure of F.A.O. would be well adapted to its functions.

The Committee on Nutrition and Food Management points out that "a large proportion of the world's population is undernourished and malnourished and its need for more food and better food is enormous, but at the same time these consumers cannot pay for the food they require." One of the first tasks to be attacked is that of getting food to certain vulnerable groups—pregnant and nursing mothers, infants, and children. Demonstration areas in poor countries were proposed.

The Committee on Agriculture emphasized the urgent problems in the less well-developed countries, especially those densely populated, and reported: "F.A.O. can serve the immediate needs of these countries with information on seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, machines, and hand tools, and with help in developing extension services to advise farmers and demonstrate better methods." Programs for soil improvements are important as well as programs for creating industries in rural areas to provide employment for surplus population. It was recommended that "F.A.O. should investigate ways in which rural incomes and rural services, such as health, housing, and education" could be improved and governments be advised on plans to promote rural well-being.

The Committee on Forestry found that F.A.O. should make a world survey of forests and forest industries, including the changes wrought by the war, the need for rehabilitation and re-equipment, and a plan for F.A.O. to inform countries with regard to forest conservation and use.

The Committee on Fisheries found that one of F.A.O.'s urgent tasks was to get information "with world coverage of production and markets . . . and to explore the resources of hitherto untouched fishing grounds." In northern hem-

isphere waters conservation measures are urgently needed.

The Committee on Marketing pointed out that nutrition and agriculture, forestry and fisheries, all have an interest in marketing. The undeveloped countries need help in creating the technical equipment of modern marketing, since many areas lack such basic essentials as roads and railways, storage and processing facilities, and protective grades and standards. In more developed countries, existing marketing facilities need improvement with "economies in overelaborate services of distribution." In the economic adjustment of international markets it is "hypocritical to lament the wide extent of malnutrition while quantities of food are not reaching consumers, or while producers are being required to restrict output." It is "irresponsible to urge farmers to produce more if the food already at hand cannot be sold at a reasonable price." Measures to maintain purchasing power, to meet the nutritional deficiencies of vulnerable groups or the needs of low-consumption groups or areas are urged.

A comprehensive statistical service with comparability in figures was recommended for F.A.O. A world census of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and their products is needed. F.A.O. should also build up a library.

The conference chairman said: "Governments know today . . . that they can do much to raise nutritional levels even in the most disadvantaged countries . . . even in regions of adverse climate and rural overpopulation, especially if industries are developed which offer new employment opportunities." The "elimination of the disabilities of rural life" is urged.

F.A.O., the first of the new permanent United Nations organizations in point of time, has set a high standard.

F. M. W.

Report of the President's Committee on the Cost of Living. OFFICE OF ECONOMIC STABILIZATION. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. v+423. \$0.60.

This volume brings together the major documents in the wartime controversy between organized labor and the Bureau of Labor Statistics with regard to the latter's cost-of-living index. The question was not an academic one for labor. The War Labor Board, in carrying out the presidential wage-stabilization directive of April, 1942, had evolved the so-called "Little

Steel Formula": that general wage increases except to correct gross inequities should not on the average exceed 15 per cent since January, 1941. The 15 per cent was based upon the increase in the cost of living shown by the bureau's index.

The bureau had not been unaware of the methodological problems created by wartime conditions, nor had they failed to attempt to solve them. They were also aware of the questioning of the accuracy of their index by labor and others. In 1943 the Secretary of Labor asked the president of the American Statistical Association to appoint a committee to "review and appraise" the index. The chairman of this committee was Frederick C. Mills; associated with him were five other outstanding economists and statisticians. The Mills Committee report constitutes Appendix II of this volume. Their answer was "Yes" to the question, "Does the Bureau's index provide an acceptable approximation to recent changes in the cost of living for urban workers?" Labor, however, disagreed so violently with this conclusion that twelve days after the release of the Mills report, the President asked the chairman of the War Labor Board to appoint three of its members to look into the question. It is the report of this committee, the President's Committee on the Cost of Living, which gives the name to this volume.

Early in January, 1944, R. J. Thomas and George Meany, the labor members of the President's Committee, submitted a report which they recommended for adoption by the committee as a whole. This report is not included in the volume under review, but appraisal of its findings by the Bureau of Labor Statistics constitutes Appendix III. The Thomas-Meany report, later published by the C.I.O., found that the cost of living had risen 43.5 per cent from January, 1941, to December, 1943. Neither the Bureau of Labor Statistics nor the Mills Committee agreed with these findings. The chairman of the War Labor Board therefore set up still another committee. He describes the members as the "most authoritative experts" he could find, "without bias and whose judgments on the technical matters in their own field would be generally accepted." Chairman of this committee was the distinguished Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell. The report of the Mitchell Committee made in June, 1944, is Appendix IV in this volume. Their conclusion in brief was: "The BLS has done a competent job, under very difficult market conditions, in providing a measure of

price changes for goods customarily purchased by families of wage-earners and lower-salaried workers living in large cities."

The chairman of the War Labor Board, William H. Davis, also chairman of the President's Cost-of-Living Committee, and the two industry members agreed with the findings of the Mitchell Committee. In the words of the chairman, "The accuracy of the BLS index figures for what they are intended to measure is confirmed." "No substantial criticism of the BLS methods has survived the searching studies presented to this Committee." The two labor members, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Meany, disagreed. The point emphasized in their reports was that, "The Bureau of Labor Statistics measures prices. It does not measure cost of living," and that since the index did not measure "cost of living" it should not be used in wage adjustments. For the arguments on this issue, readers should consult the Mitchell Committee report as well as the report of the President's Committee.

In the reviewer's opinion the basic issues as they finally emerged were: (1) To what extent were wartime changes in the manner of living due to a generally higher level of earnings and to what extent were they forced upon families by price changes, shortages, and market restrictions? (2) Should the Bureau of Labor Statistics index have reflected the latter changes and did it do so? The position of the labor groups would have been stronger if from the beginning they had put their emphasis upon these questions, since many of their criticisms of B.L.S. procedures were clearly unsound.

Upon another point it is to be wished they had made their position clear; that is, that no argument on their part that the Department of Labor exists to serve labor should be interpreted by the professional staff to mean that their procedures should always be chosen in such a way as to insure an outcome currently of advantage to labor.

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Bibliography on Night Work for Women. WOMEN'S BUREAU, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. Washington, D.C., 1946. Pp. 59.

This annotated bibliography on night work furnishes background information about standards of night work for women. The bibliography covers reports by government agencies, private research agencies, academic institutions, indus-

trial physicians, personnel officers, psychologists, and others; and, in general, it includes only very important reports published within the last ten years, though a few earlier ones are also listed. The most important studies made in the United States and Great Britain dealing specifically with night work in relation to the employment of women are included; but it is explained that studies of aspects of night work that are less directly related to questions of employment, such as wage differentials or seniority rights as a basis for shift assignment, are not included.

The major findings of the reports are indicated either by direct quotation or by summaries. "No attempt has been made to evaluate the material or to express agreement or disagreement with the conclusions of the separate reports regarding any specific phase of the night-work problem."

It is pointed out that the employment of women on night shifts has been a controversial question for many years.

Workers, employers, health authorities, government and private research agencies, and law-makers have been concerned with the effect of night work on the health, social responsibilities, efficiency, and economic status of women. During the war, the employment of women on night work increased greatly to meet increased production needs, and interest in the effects of night work was sharpened. With the war experience freshly in mind, those who want to promote the welfare of the working women are now again seeking to define the peacetime standards that should be established to cover the employment of women on night shifts.

This report will be very useful.

Fair Employment Practices Committee, First Report, July 1, 1943—December, 1944. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. 152.

Social workers regretted the failure of Congress last year to give permanent status to the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which did so much during the war years to eliminate discriminatory employment practices. A reading of the *First Report* serves to intensify this regret and to emphasize the desirability of a permanent agency of this type.

This excellent *Report* discusses the basis and the extent of the authority of F.E.P.C., the administrative organization of the agency, and its relation with other agencies, departments, commissions, and boards. The method of handling cases is described, and a statistical analysis of the committee's work is presented.

The most interesting chapters describe and analyze the effectiveness of F.E.P.C. and appraise the wartime utilization of minority workers. The *Report* has ten useful appendixes and is illustrated with excellent charts and graphs. It serves not only to describe the work of the committee in eliminating discriminatory employment practices but as an invaluable discussion of the historical background of the employment of minority groups in this country and of the occupational advances made as a result of wartime labor shortages as well as of the work of the F.E.P.C. and co-operating agencies.

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